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THE RETURN

AN INTERNATIONAL PALESTINIAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Arafat Challenges Israel To Make Peace

Exclusive Interview: Ibrahim Souss on Arafat's Appearance before the European Parliament

Israel's Policy of Deportation
by Judith Gabriel

Israel's New Eye in the Sky
by Jane Hunter

Profile of Akram Haniyeh

The Human Toll of House Demolitions
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CONTENTS

2 Editorial: Stop Kissing Up to Israel

4 Interview: Ibrahim Souss on Arafat's Appearance before the European Parliament *by Bishara Bahbah*

6 Israel's Policy of Deportation *by Judith Gabriel*

11 Israel's Eye in the Sky *by Jane Hunter*

13 Al-Intifadah as a Social Revolution *by Shukri Abed*

16 Profile of a Leader: Akram Haniyeh, The Deported Editor of *Al-Shaab* Newspaper *by Suha Tawil*

17 The Human Toll of House Demolitions *by Kate Casa*

20 The Vatican and Palestine *by George E. Irani*

22 Not Seeing the Other Side *by Stephen Herman*

25 Arab Americans in the Republican Party: How Central Are Middle East Issues to Them? *by John Egan*

27 Israel's Stock Is Falling in Europe *by Jane Hunter*

34 A Call for Peace: PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's Speech to the European Parliament

40 A Word from the Publisher: It Is Time To Accept Arafat's Olive Branch

COVER PHOTO:

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addresses newsmen during press conference he gave at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France on Wednesday, September 14, 1988. Looking on at left is the president of the socialist group at the European Parliament, Rudi Arndt. Associated Press

Beverly Orr

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Publishers are urged to send books relating to the Middle East for reviews.

Drawing by Brian Dewan

STOP KISSING UP TO ISRAEL

When you see politicians kissing babies, you know it is election time. When you see politicians publicly kissing up to Israel, you know they are Americans.

This kissing up to Israel is rarely as evident as when there are U.S. presidential elections. Recently, both Michael Dukakis, the Democratic presidential nominee, and George Bush, the Republican presidential nominee, engaged in that ritual in their speeches to the annual international convention of B'nai B'rith in Baltimore, Maryland.

Dukakis declared that he will "never recognize a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state or government in exile." He also rejected a role for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Middle East peace negotiations. In addition, he promised that, if elected, he would maintain "generous levels" of U.S. aid to Israel and refuse to sell weapons "that would threaten the security of Israel to any nation."

Bush, on the other hand, stated that he is "opposed to an independent Palestinian state for a very simple reason. Such a state would be a threat to the security of Israel and [the security] of Jordan, which is crucial to any lasting settlement of the conflict."

Few observers have suggested that both statements were made for public consumption and are simply pre-election politicking. Both candidates, one of whom will become the president of the United States, are serious. Apparently, none of their advisors have had either the guts or the wisdom to tell them that their unequivocal statements of support for Israel are outmoded, and for a number of good reasons.

Although the American public is generally supportive of Israel, its support is not unconditional and, at the same time, it does not automatically preclude supporting establishment of a Palestinian state. If public opinion polls are a reasonable measure of where the American public stands, then this statement is accurate. After all, most public opinion polls recently conducted have shown that a large segment of the American population supports the

Although the American public is generally supportive of Israel, its support is not unconditional and, at the same time, it does not automatically preclude supporting establishment of a Palestinian state.

establishment of a Palestinian homeland or a state. A majority of Americans also supports negotiations with the PLO.

The American Jewish community, as powerful as it may be, is also becoming a bit more mature and realistic. Jewish Americans are quite used to American politicians addressing their conventions and kissing up to what they dearly value—Israel. In fact, many Jewish Americans are embarrassed and disgusted. On the one hand, they find it insulting to be continually patronized by American politicians. On the other hand, they fear that the statements made by presidential candidates on Israel might have a backlash on their standing in their own communities and across the United States.

The most important reason that these unequivocal statements by the presidential candidates regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are anachronistic is that they completely ignore the realities on the ground. Israel is losing its grip on the Occupied Territories day by day. The ten-month-old Uprising *(Intifadah)* testifies to that. The Palestinian people are more determined than ever to rid themselves of Israel's occupation and to establish the coveted Palestinian state. Indeed, in a contradictory statement in his speech, even Bush notes that "there will be no peace without them (the Palestinians)."

Other important realities that these presidential candidates conveniently ignore are the peace overtures by the Palestinian leadership. During his speech on September 13 to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, expressed willingness to recognize the state of Israel and accept United Nations guarantees for its security as part of an agreement in which Israel would also recognize a parallel Palestinian right to a state.

If it is the security of Israel that the presidential candidates want, then the path to pursue is to bring together the Israeli government and the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people. After all, they are the two main parties to the conflict.

Israel's interests are best served by establishing peace with the Palestinian people. Israel's interests are not served by opportunistic political promises that discourage it from seeking peace with its adversaries. History will surely record that these short-sighted U.S. presidential candidates, with their self-serving promises, are the worst of Israel's friends.

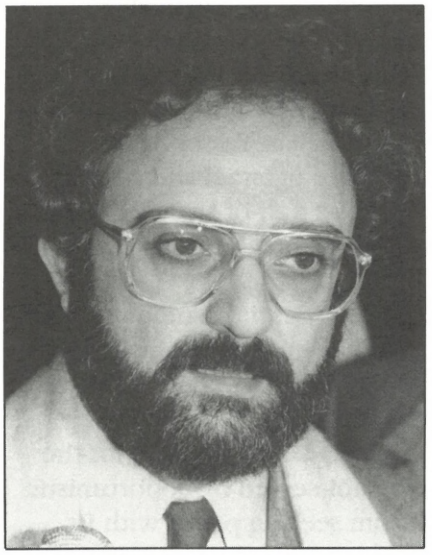
Bishara Bahbah

Bishara A. Bahbah
Editor-in-Chief

IBRAHIM SOUSS

On Arafat's Appearance before the European Parliament

BY BISHARA BAHBAH



Ibrahim Souss.

On September 13, Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), addressed the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France. (The unedited and complete text of his speech is reproduced on pages 34-39.) The contents of the speech, the invitation by the European Parliament, Arafat's first visit ever to France, and his subsequent meeting with France's foreign minister combine to make this an event of historical significance.

Mr. Ibrahim Souss, the PLO representative to France, was heavily involved in paving the way and preparing for Arafat's appearance before the European Parliament. Mr. Souss accompanied Arafat throughout his stay in France, attended most of the meetings, and translated the interviews Arafat gave to the media.

The editor-in-chief of The Return, *Bishara A. Bahbah, interviewed Mr. Souss to discuss the results of Arafat's trip.*

Q: What were the benefits from Arafat's visit to Strasbourg, France, and what was the reaction to his speech to the European Parliament?

Chairman Arafat's appearance before the European Parliament is second in importance only to his appearance in 1974 before the United Nations. We view his invitation to address the European Parliament as a major diplomatic breakthrough for the PLO on the international scene.

The significance of Chairman Arafat's address to the European Parliament is that it is the first ever by the Palestinian leader. His message of peace was very coherent. Chairman Arafat challenged the Israeli public and establishment to make peace with the Palestinians. He clearly stated that he was willing to meet with any Israeli to discuss peace.

His meeting with France's Foreign Minister Roland Dumas was the first ever between the chairman of the PLO and a French foreign minister on French territory. (Arafat has met with all of France's foreign ministers since the early 1970s. However, all the meetings took place outside of France.) The meeting was also particularly

important because it took place despite all the pressures, particularly by France's Jewish community, exerted on the French government to cancel it.

Q: Having attended the meeting between Arafat and France's foreign minister, what are your impressions of the meeting?

The meeting was warm and sincere. Both men spoke in clear terms. A number of agreements, which I am not at liberty to discuss, were reached. In short, the meeting was extremely beneficial.

Q: How was Arafat received by the French?

Chairman Arafat was accorded the treatment of a head of state. The French even closed the air space when the chairman's plane entered France. French Air Force jets were sent to escort his plane.

Q: What has been the attitude of French President Francois Mitterand regarding Arafat's visit?

According to sources close to the French president, Mitterand expressed impatience with the attitude of Israel's ambassador to France. Mitterand was irritated with what he viewed as blatant interference by the Israeli ambassador in France's internal affairs when he attempted to mobilize French public opinion against Chairman Arafat's visit.

To demonstrate his displeasure, Mitterand has, for over three weeks, refused to schedule an appointment with the Israeli ambassador.

Q: From available press reports, we know that the issue of a provisional Palestinian government was discussed. Could you tell us more about the contents of these discussions?

Mitterand was irritated with what he viewed as blatant interference by the Israeli ambassador in France's internal affairs when he attempted to mobilize French public opinion against Chairman Arafat's visit.

Chairman Arafat stated in his meetings that the notion of declaring a provisional government is only one option under discussion. He made clear that he would not commit himself to any of the options presented without the approval of the Palestine National Council.

At the same time, he asked the European parliamentarians and the French foreign minister if their governments would recognize such a Palestinian government if declared. Chairman Arafat did seem to imply that if the major powers would support the notion of a Palestinian provisional government, their support would weigh heavily on the final decision to be taken by the Palestine National Council.

Q: Was anything that was said or done in France directed at the U.S. government?

Yes. Western Europe's acceptance of the PLO provides a stark contrast with the United States' refusal to even talk to the PLO. Moreover, as far as the PLO is considered, all the preconditions put forth by the Americans for a U.S.-PLO dialogue have been met. Arafat has publicly stated that the PLO accepts all United Nations Resolutions pertaining to the Palestine question, including Resolutions 242 and 338. Arafat also signed and has adhered to the Cairo document that renounced terrorism and committed the PLO not to fight Israel outside of the conflict zone. The Americans' negative response indicates that they are not interested in peace in the Middle East except on terms *dictated,* not *negotiated,* by them and the Israelis. ■

ISRAEL'S POLICY OF DEPORTATION

BY JUDITH GABRIEL

While the world has protested the bone-crushing, tear-gassing and other harsh Israeli attempts to quash the *Intifadah,* nothing has drawn such sharp international indignation and keen frustration as deportation—the banishing from their beleaguered homeland of Palestinian leaders.

Since the outbreak of the *Intifadah,* 60 Palestinians had either already been expelled from their homeland, or were facing imminent deportation as the summer of 1988 came to a close. Ironically, the banished individuals are the very leaders who will have a voice in a future state of Palestine, and will one day have to be reckoned with, face-to-face, in official and diplomatic proximity with the Israeli government which is violating international law by forcibly expelling them.

But the banished leaders of the *Intifadah* are only the latest in a long line of Palestinians made exiles by Israel.

Since the practice of deportation began shortly after occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in 1967, about 1,500-2,000 Palestinians have been deported, according to Palestinian estimates.

The largest single deportation order ever was issued on August 17, 1988, eight months into the *Intifadah,* when 25 Palestinians were ordered out of their country. Despite world censure, the practice of deportation has not abated, and some say it may be increasing. Right-wing Israeli sources revealed that the Israeli secret police has a list of 1,200 others targeted for expulsion, and some wary observers see the wave of expulsion orders as the beginning of the more ominous threat of wholesale "population transfer."

"We do not see expulsion as an isolated action directed against individuals, but as a threat to the entire Palestinian community," said a spokesperson for the newly formed Committee of Families of Deportees in Jerusalem. The group wants international human-rights groups to intervene to halt future deportations, and swift repatriation of those already deported during the last eight months of the Uprising.

During the first few days of the *Intifadah,* when the first of thousands of Palestinians had been arrested, the specter of mass deportations loomed over the nascent Uprising. Initially, nine men from the West Bank and Gaza were ordered expelled. Five decided to appeal, but four others, calling the process a charade, waived their right to appeal.

On January 13, 1988, the four were taken by helicopter to a desolate mountain road inside Israel's self-proclaimed security zone in southern Lebanon. An Israeli army officer told them they would be shot on sight if they tried to return.

Previously, deportees had been escorted in chains to the Allenby Bridge and told to walk into Jordan, but, to discourage the practice of deportation, Jordan refused to accept deportees. Subsequently, the Israelis would drop off the exiles in

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Judith Gabriel is a freelance journalist and photographer, and produces a biweekly radio program in Los Angeles called Middle East in Focus. *She was in Athens waiting for the* Ship of Return *to set sail in February, 1988.*

"We shall return . . ." but not on the ill-fated *Ship of Return*, which was crippled by a limpet bomb in Cyprus. Here, project organizers give a final statement in an Athens press conference. From left, Dr. Hanna M. Nasser, exiled president of Bir Zeit University; Anglican Bishop Elia Khouri; Melkite Archbishop Hilarion Capucci; and deported mayor of Halhoul, Mohammad Milhem.

the Wadi Araba Desert between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba, and the new exile would trudge for miles, often through mined terrain, bare-headed under the blistering sun, plastic slippers on his feet, with meager rations: a water bottle full of lukewarm water, a bag of sand-covered food, and maybe the equivalent of $50.

Although there were hundreds, most of the deportations since 1967 went virtually unnoticed by the rest of the world—even with the banishment of such distinguished leaders as deposed mayors, university presidents, lawyers, and other Palestinian civic figures. However, the deportations of the *Intifadah* stunned and enraged the international community.

After the issuance of the first *Intifadah*-related expulsion orders, the United Nations Security Council unanimously called on Israel to refrain from such deportations. The United States joined with the Security Council in its condemnation, marking the first time in five years that the United States had joined in an anti-Israeli resolution.

Although there were hundreds, most of the deportations since 1967 went virtually unnoticed by the rest of the world—even with the banishment of such distinguished leaders as deposed mayors, university presidents, lawyers, and other Palestinian civic figures.

SHIP OF RETURN

In cities throughout the world, protests were staged to condemn the impending deportations. But by far the most dramatic anti-deportation demonstration was the Palestine Liberation Organization's now-legendary *Ship of Return.* It was an ill-fated plan to sail exiles into Haifa harbor. As the Uprising escalated in the West Bank and Gaza, the PLO called together more than 100 deportees, symbolic of the legions deported in the last 20 years, as well as hundreds of media representatives, international observers, and other supporters who affirmed the right of Palestinian deportees and refugees to return to their homeland.

The project's dramatization of the idea of return for Palestinians struck a raw and deep nerve with Israel, which publicly vowed, with apparent fury, that it would do everything possible to prevent the ship from sailing.

Awaiting the embarkation in Greece was the first "officially" deported Palestinian, Sheikh Abdul-Hamid Al-Sayeh, who was head of

the Jerusalem Higher Islamic Council in 1967, when he was expelled. Today, he is president of the Palestine National Council, the de facto parliament in exile of the Palestinian people. The passenger list also included the first deportees of the *Intifadah*. Jabril Mahmoud Rajub, Jamal Jabara, Bashir Khayri, and Husam Hadar, also gathered in Athens.

Although, the dramatic peace initiative never left Athens, it did bring to the world's attention Israel's longtime practice of deportation. The *Ship of Return* was besieged by threats, sabotage, and other obstacles—including the bombing of a crew-laden ferry and the killing of three top PLO cadres—all, purportedly, by Israeli agents.

Several weeks would pass before the next expulsions in April; these included six residents of the beset village of Beita. (Beita was the site of a shooting by an Israeli settler that resulted in the death of a Jewish teenager—an incident that was erroneously blamed on Palestinians.) On August 1, eight more Palestinians, including four who had lost their appeals to the Israeli High Court of Justice, were suddenly expelled to Lebanon.

THE ISRAELI RATIONALE

The Israelis trace their power to deport to a notorious regulation that predates Israel's formation as a state in 1948. Used by the British to quiet both the Jewish and Arab populations of Mandate Palestine, Article 112 of the British Emergency Defence Regulations of 1945 gave the military commander power to deport any person he deemed prejudicial to security and public order. The archaic regulations were condemned several times by Jewish leaders before 1948, and were finally revoked in Israel itself on the grounds of being brutal and injurious to basic rights.

Deportation is prohibited "for any reason whatsoever" by the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949.

Furthermore, the British regulations were revoked by the British themselves when they left Palestine in 1948, but the Israelis have continued to use them against Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. What is their rationale? Since the British were prevented by war-time exigencies from publishing a notice of the abrogation of the defense regulations, Israel refuses to accept that the abrogation law ever went into effect.

Nonetheless, deportation is prohibited "for any reason whatsoever" by the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. While the Israeli government signed the Geneva Convention, it still refuses to let it pass in the Knesset as domestic law. Furthermore, Israel has continually maintained that the Geneva Convention article on deportation was written after World War II and was intended only to prevent mass deportations for the purposes of "extermination, enslavement and economic exploitation," and is not applicable to the expulsion of individuals for reasons of "public order or security."

"It has nothing to do with security," said Mahmoud Al-Jahoub, one of those deported on April 11, 1988. "Our deportation is a political decision aimed at emptying our country. The decision is the result of pressure exerted by Jewish settlers on their government."

Indeed, in 1985, it was the settlers who exerted pressure to reactivate the then-dormant deportation policy. In May of 1985, 1,000 Palestinian political prisoners were released in a prisoner exchange, swapping them for three Israelis being held in Lebanon. The settlers called for the rearrest and expulsion of all the released prisoners. When the government initiated its new Iron Fist policy of administrative punishments, it included administrative detention, and an escalation of house demolitions, censorship and other tactics, including deportation.

A second category of deportees includes those who are said to pose a "security threat." Many had spent time in Israeli jails, often on charges of "membership in an illegal organization." Many of those deported under this category had also been under town or house arrest. Most of them had been influential members of their local communities. They had carried out their activities completely in the open, and their activities had been legal. Had their activities not been legal, the Israeli occupation authorities could have taken them to court and prosecuted them. They were not accused of armed attacks, for which they could easily be tried, but of incitement and membership in an illegal organization. All deportations, in fact, are based on an administrative decision in which no formal charges are brought, no trial is held, and the

deportees' attorneys do not have access to any evidence.

The exiled Palestinians have tended to be the grass-roots community leaders, elected mayors, trade unionists, educators, religious leaders, lawyers, journalists, students, and intellectuals. Palestinians have long seen this as part of a move to rid the Occupied Territories of an effective leadership, and to facilitate eventual Israeli annexation. Israel defends the practice by calling it the "maximum deterrent" claiming it is used only on "people who cannot be reformed," *i.e.,* deterred from their nationalistic activism.

A LEGAL CHARADE

Deportees are rarely given due process, and only have limited channels of appeal. What recourse they do have has been called a charade by Palestinian lawyers such as Jonathan Kuttab. Previous appeals by dozens of Palestinians facing expulsion have never resulted in a single order being rescinded. Not once has the Israeli High Court of Justice overturned an expulsion order, and in the one case where the high court urged reconsideration of a deportation order, the government declined the advice.

The Israeli supreme court refuses to hear any arguments based on international law, and therefore, lawyers must attempt to use existing Israeli law or technical errors in opposing the deportation procedure. The procedure does not look at whether or not the person is "deportable." In Athens, several exiled Palestinians repeated the question: "If we've done something wrong, why don't they put us in prison?"

Meanwhile, worldwide protests against the practice of deportation continue to mount in the wake of the issuance of even more deporta-

PALESTINIANS DEPORTED IN 1988

DEPORTATION

Name	Age	Hometown or Camp	Date
1. Jibril Mahmoud Rajub	34	N/A	1/13
2. Jamal Jabara	28	N/A	1/13
3. Bashir Khayri	45	N/A	1/13
4. Husam Hadar	26	N/A	1/13
5. Freij Ahmad Khalil Khayri	40	Gaza	4/11
6. Mohammad Abu Samra	27	Gaza	4/11
7. Khalil Al-Quka	40	Gaza	4/11
8. Hassan Abu Shakra	38	Khan Younis	4/11
9. Jamal Hindi*	N/A	Jenin	4/11
10. Abdul Nasser Abu Aziz*	N/A	Jenin	4/11
11. Abdul Aziz Odeh*	N/A	Gaza	4/11
12. Abel Nafi	26	Kalandia	4/11
13. Omar Muhammad Daoud	N/A	Beita	4/19
14. Najeh Salim Dweiket	N/A	Beita	4/19
15. Mahmoud Abdul Rahim Abu Shamseh	N/A	Beita	4/19
16. Mustafa Mahmoud Hamayel	N/A	Beita	4/19
17. Sari Hilal Hamayel	N/A	Beita	4/19
18. Ibrahim Ali	N/A	Beita	4/19
19. Ghassan Masri	31	Ramallah	4/19
20. Ahmad Al-Deik	27	Kufr Al-Deik	4/19
21. Adnan Mohammad Daggher	37	Al-Bireh	8/1
22. Ahmad Mohammad Jabber Sleiman	35	Turmos Ayyeh	8/1
23. Ziad Rushdi Nahal	30	Gaza	8/1
24. Jamal Abdul Jawwad Zaqout	31	Gaza	8/1
25. Lu'ai Ali Naafe Abdo	34	Nablus	8/1
26. Samir Mahmud Abdul Qader Sbehat	34	Rummaneh	8/1
27. Jamal Diab Lafi	25	Kalandia	8/1
28. Musri Abdul Hadi Abu Ghwaileh	22	Kalandia	8/1
29. Jamal Dhyab Abu Latifeh	21	Kalandia	8/17
30. Abdallah Isma'il Jabri	N/A	Gaza	8/17
31. Ahmad Mustafa Abu Mu'aileq	N/A	Gaza	8/17
32. Yusri Darwish Al-Hums	N/A	Rafah	8/17
33. Dr. Fathi Al-Shaqaqi	N/A	Rafah	8/17
34. Mohammad Gharableh	N/A	Gaza	8/17

EXPULSIONS PENDING

35. Hussein Hassan Barakeh	32	Bani Suhaileh	
36. Nabil Mohammad Tamus	21	Gaza	
37. Fathi Mustapha Hajaj	36	Bureij	
38. Riad Wajih Kamel Ajur	26	Gaza	
39. Abdullah Ayad Abu Samhadani	38	Gaza	
40. Ayash Abdul Aziz Abu Sa'adi	30	Jabaliya	
41. Rizek Mahmoud Al-Bayari	29	Gaza	
42. Mohammad Saadi Dukh	30	Gaza	
43. Abdul Min'am Abu Ataya	33	Gaza	
44. Ata Mohammed Abu Karsh	54	Al-Shati	
45. Yusef Harb Odeh	N/A	Balata	
46. Jamal Ibrahim Faraj	25	Dheisheh	
47. Taysir Rajab Aruri	43	Al-Bireh	
48. Abdul Hamid Ismail Al-Baba	25	Al-Amari	
49. Odeh Yusuf Ma'ale	30	Kufr Na'ameh	
50. Akif Wahid Hamdallah	27	Anabta	
51. Othman Mohammad Daoud	27	Qalqilyah	
52. Mohammad Abdul Jalil M'tur	38	Al-Bireh	
53. Masoud Othman Zaiter	42	Nablus	
54. Bilal Izzedine Shakshir	36	Nablus	
55. Hani Mohammad Haloub	28	Tulkarem	
56. Taysir Mohammad Saleh	27	Balata	
57. Sirhan Othman Duwerat	29	Balata	
58. Asam Amin Fattah Dibay	28	Nablus	
59. Mohammed Abdullah Labadi	28	Abu Dis	
60. Radwan Ahmad Ziadeh	31	Hebron	

*Deportation orders issued prior to the *Intifadah*. N/A=not available.

MUBARAK AWAD

Recently, multitudes of Americans have heard first-hand the account of one prominent Palestinian exile. Since his deportation in June, Mubarak Awad has been shuttling from one American city to the next to lecture, and appear on scores of television and radio programs. He talks about being Palestinian, he talks about civil disobedience and the *Intifadah*, he talks about the nightmare of deportation and the longing to return.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir himself ordered the deportation, calling Awad a threat to Israel's security, charging that he was an "instigator" of the *Intifadah*. Awad is head of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, and is considered the "Palestinian Ghandi" by many of his supporters.

The United States expressed intense displeasure over the expulsion. Said White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater: "We think it's unjustifiable not to permit him to stay in the country where he was born." Awad was born in East Jerusalem four years before Israel became a state. Israel claimed he lost the right to residency because he left home to study in the United States and subsequently became a U.S. citizen.

Now, Awad tells his audiences of his determination to return to Jerusalem. His frequent U.S. appearances have humanized the ordeal of deportation and the Palestinian struggle to millions of Americans. He has "brought home" the story of exile to such an extent that many Israelis wish they had not given him the boot. As one Israeli official said, summing up the public relations losses suffered in the wake of Awad's deportation, "We shot ourselves in the foot."

A massive demonstration took place February 17 in Athens protesting Israel's deportation policy, and demanding the return of exiles. Thousands of Greeks marched to the Israeli Mission, condemning harsh tactics being used by Israeli forces to quash the *Intifadah*. Here, deportees join with demonstrators.

Judith Gabriel

tion orders—these, primarily targeting members of the newly outlawed popular committees.

Following Israel's August order for 25 new expulsions, Washington registered its strongest protest, adding to its expression of official displeasure the observation that, "an increasing number of Americans are wondering what Israel is doing."

John Whitehead, deputy secretary of state, warned Israeli officials that continued expulsion would damage bilateral U.S.-Israeli relations, and that Israel could not count on the United States if the United Nations Security Council were to take up the matter again.

AN ODIOUS ORDEAL

Deportation has been called an inhuman and odious ordeal by those who go through it. Family members suffer as well as the deportee himself.

One of those expelled in previous years, and instrumental in planning the *Ship of Return* project, was Abdel Jawad Saleh. Saleh was elected mayor of Al-Bireh, and was expelled in 1974, along with five other Palestinians.

In the winter of 1988, it was 14 years since his son had last seen him. On January 10, 1988 in the Jerusalem-based newspaper, *Al-Fajr*, Omar Abdel Jawad wrote that he still remembers the night his father was taken away. He was 13 years old.

> He keeps asking people about the way I look, he tells them that he will be able to recognize me just by feelings. . . . I understand it when someone is made an orphan and cannot see his father because of death. But what I can never comprehend is being made an orphan while your father is still alive.

Akram Haniyeh was deported in January, 1986. The former editor of the East Jerusalem Arabic-language

*See **DEPORTATION**, page 30*

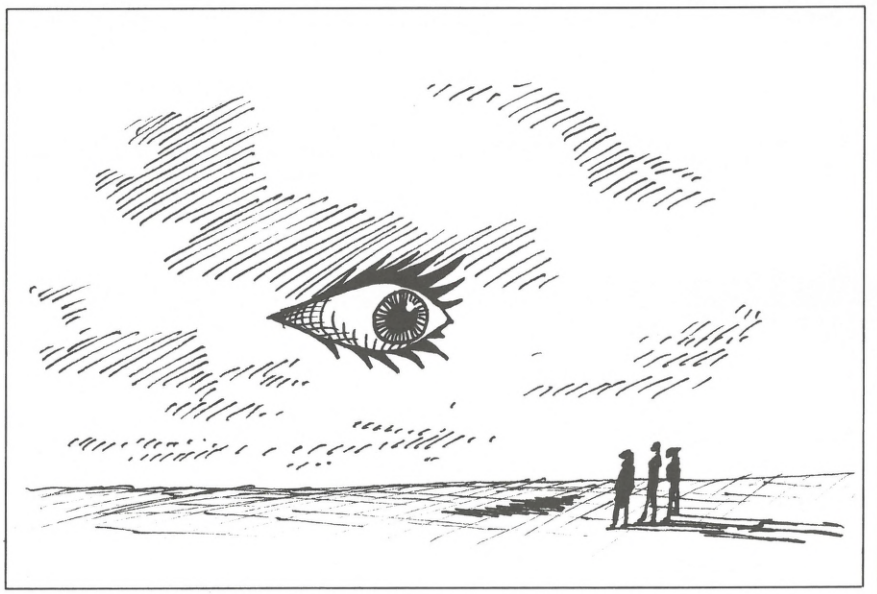
ISRAEL'S NEW EYE IN THE SKY

BY JANE HUNTER

On Monday, September 19, 1988 Israel launched its first "communications" satellite, the *Horizon I.* Widely believed to be a spy satellite, it will give Israel a new military advantage in the Middle East. It will also profoundly alter Israel's relationship with the United States, which has until now been its source of satellite intelligence.

For some time now, all the elements have been in place for the launch. Israel established a space agency in 1983, under which the nation's electronics industry developed the satellite They also prepared and launched a "test" model, the *Horizon I,* that will survive less than a month. The actual satellite, which will be put into a low earth orbit and pass over the Middle East at least twice daily, is expected to survive about two years.

To send the *Horizon I* aloft, Israel used a rocket it calls *Shavit,* the Hebrew word for comet. With the successful launch, Israel joins the exclusive club of countries with satellite into orbit: the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, Japan, China, and India.



Drawing by Brian Dewan

Israel first tested the *Shavit* rocket over the eastern Mediterranean in May, 1987. At the time, military observers believed Israel was simply testing its Jericho II intermediate-range missile as part of its ongoing nuclear weapons development program. The *Shavit* was built jointly by the state-owned Israel Aircraft Industries and Israel's arms development authority, *Raphael.*

It was probably difficult for the Israeli inner cabinet to agree on a launch date. The factors they must have weighed ranged from concern that, with an election coming up, voters will view the drama of Israel's entry into space as a campaign gimmick, to fears that too early a launch will cause Arab

Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

governments to press Moscow for their own satellites. This would both ratchet up the regional arms race and anger the Soviets just when an Israeli-Soviet rapprochement seems in the offing.

A spy satellite will allow Israel to monitor troop movements, ship movements, and deployment of aircraft and missile batteries, which are adding a new dimension of volatility to the Middle East. It would also allow Israel to monitor activity around other countries' nuclear reactors which Israel suspects are being used to develop weapons, rather than for research or power generation. Thus, Israel could use the satellite intelligence as a hedge against surprise attacks or to plan its own attacks.

However, the satellite cannot "see" at night or when the air is very dusty. One expert questions whether the military benefits Israel will reap are worth the hundreds of millions of dollars the satellite, launch system, and receiving equipment cost.

The military advantages of the satellite might be debatable. The changes the satellite will produce in Israel's relations with the United States are not. The most consequential of these changes is that, the moment the satellite is established in orbit, it becomes far easier than it has ever been for Israel to drag the United States into a war.

Until now, Israel has depended on Washington for its satellite intelligence, a relationship that provided the United States contact with and some influence over Israeli military planning. In order to preserve its relations with Arab governments, the United States only gives Israel satellite information on bordering countries or on those deemed to pose an immediate threat. Israel is not given anything that could be used for an offensive action.

These limits were exceeded in the early months of the Reagan administration, when CIA Director William Casey provided Israel with the satellite photographs it used to bomb and destroy Iraq's nuclear reactor in June, 1981. After that attack, the then-deputy director of the CIA, Admiral Bobby R. Inman, promptly reimposed the limits. The Reagan administration also denied Israel's repeated requests for "real time" transmissions from American surveillance satellites to a ground station of its own, and for an allocated block of time on American satellites.

Former CIA Director William Casey chose to use the leverage he gained by providing intelligence to Israel to enlist Israel's help in covert activities, especially in the Reagan administration's effort to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

Not having the full picture has made Israel more reliant on the United States. Israel found it necessary, for example, to confide in Washington that it planned to invade Lebanon in 1982.

For the United States, such leverage and the advance knowledge it brings is critical. While Washington does not have a mutual defense pact with Israel, few doubt that its iron-bound and often-repeated guarantees for Israel's security would mean going to war if Israel appeared to be losing a military confrontation. Under two strategic agreements signed during the Reagan years, joint military exercises and the "prepositioning" of American military equipment in Israel have been instituted making such a battle scenario all the more plausible.

Israel's new satellite will exclude one party to those agreements, Washington, from any say about when and where that battle might be. Will Israel see a missile battery moved in Syria or Iraq and decide to launch the preemptive attack that is central to its military doctrine? Will Israel finally bomb Pakistan's nuclear reactor at Kahuta, as it has been threatening to do for years? (Washington's reported help in strengthening Kahuta's defenses would be duly observed by the Israeli satellite.)

Is the new superpower cooperation strong enough to prevent a rapid series of actions and reactions, drawing the United States and the Soviet Union into a war neither wants and the rest of the world dreads? Even during this time of exhausted peace at the end of the Gulf war, the simple presence of the Israeli satellite, making two daily orbits over the Middle East, will be destabilizing.

But it is for precisely this independence from its powerful ally that economically shaky Israel has invested in an expensive space program. Just as Israel found it irksome in 1967 that French President Charles de Gaulle could constrain its military strategy by halting arms deliveries (to prevent that ever happening again, Israel established its own arms industry), Israel has chafed under the limits Washington has placed on intelligence sharing.

*See **SKY**, page 30*

AL-INTIFADAH AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTION

BY SHUKRI ABED

In Arabic, the word *Intifadah* is derived from the root *"nafada"* (نفض). *Nafada* is defined: 1) to shudder, to shiver, to tremble; 2) to shake off, to shake out, to dust off; but also 3) to recover, to recuperate, to jump to one's feet. In common usage, the verb *"nafada"* is used in the following ways: *to break* with someone, *to refuse to have anything to do with, to shed* one's anxiety, *to shake off* one's sorrow, and *to shake off* one's laziness.

The Palestinian Uprising, like the word chosen to describe it, is multifaceted in its meaning. Indeed, it is a political phenomenon, an uprising against the long years of oppressive occupation. However, as the third meaning of its root *nafada* suggests, it is also a social and psychological phenomenon: an awakening, a self-cleansing, a breaking away from the burden of inherited social structures that have outlived their usefulness. In short, the *Intifadah* is directed not only outward against the external oppression of Israeli occupation, but it is also directed inward in an attempt to reevaluate goals, strategies, and achievements. The *Intifadah* is the Palestinian people's attempt to recover, to recuperate, and to "stand on their own two feet." And in the end, the people to benefit from it will be both the Palestinians and the Israelis.

It is hardly necessary to discuss the extent to which the *Intifadah* is a shuddering, a shivering, a trembling. This is its most striking aspect. The Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories are reacting vehemently to 21 years of occupation—21 years of having no recognized political identity, no personal or political freedom, little hope, and endless suffering and humiliation. In the face of all this, Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories have finally decided to take matters into their own hands. This is no surprise. What is surprising is that it did not happen sooner.

In one sense though, the *Intifadah* did "happen sooner." It should be viewed as the continuing intensification of Palestinian nationalism in the wake of the crushing defeat of the Arab armies in 1967. While the Palestinians then did not completely shake off or sever their relations with the Arab world on which they had relied and from which they had hoped for salvation, they did realize that the Arab armies and regimes would not fight their battles for them in any meaningful way. Similarly, the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians today realize that they themselves must act to shake off the occupation. They can no longer wait for external forces to extricate them from the situation. Of course, they continue to hope for support, but they know that they must act themselves if they want to achieve their goals. This is a new and more advanced stage of political realism.

A growing self-reliance among Palestinians in the Occupied Territories is also reflected in their relationship with the PLO. For one thing, the active role has now been grasped by the people in the camps and in the villages, rather than by the academicians and the politicians. Twenty years of lecturing, writing and lobbying have had little effect on Israeli public

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Rick Reinhard

Jad Ishaq in his garden in Beit Sahour. He is serving six months in administrative detention for allegedly leading Beit Sahour's popular committee, and for espousing a philosophy of Palestinian economic self-sufficiency.

opinion or on world policymakers.

Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza have recognized that their battle will not be won in the United Nations or through guerrilla warfare. The battle is here in the camps, in the villages and even in the cities and it is simply the people, every Palestinian, that has become a force to resist and to shake off the current situation, however endless and hopeless it may seem. The PLO has continued to be, and is in fact more than ever, the symbol for these people and the aspirational force, but the burden of the struggle is now shared, representing a new aspect in the political life of the Palestinian people. Thus we see that even in the political sphere—where the earthquake nature of the *Intifadah* is most clearly in evidence—the *Intifadah* exhibits internal growth and development as well as forceful, outward-directed action.

The growing self-reliance is just one manifestation of the Palestinians' dissatisfaction with their own social structures and traditions. Furthermore, the *Intifadah* is a revolution against internal corruption and against the many who have advanced their personal status and won material gains in the name of the Palestinian cause. It is a revolution against a social structure that not only helps maintain the occupation, but may well have been a factor in allowing it to occur in the first place. The *Intifadah* aims to shake off or at least reduce the central role the family has played in Palestinian national politics. It aims to replace the old order with a new order that reflects loyalty and commitment to the Palestinian nation rather than to the family alone.

In a very real sense, then, the *Intifadah* is a social revolution as much as it is a rebellion against the occupation. The old Palestinian social order and the Israeli occupation are two sides of the same coin and one cannot exist without the other, or to state it differently, getting rid of one implies and presupposes a struggle against the other. The Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza have reached the conclusion that their own private internal revolution is a necessary condition for gaining external political freedom.

The *Intifadah* is a process that began in 1967 but has intensified, becoming more comprehensive and more organized over the last nine months. A people without hope has once again confirmed the truism that those with no hope have nothing to lose. The *Intifadah* is a new stage in the national and social life of the Palestinians, through which they are beginning to regain their self-respect, their unity, and perhaps their political freedom.

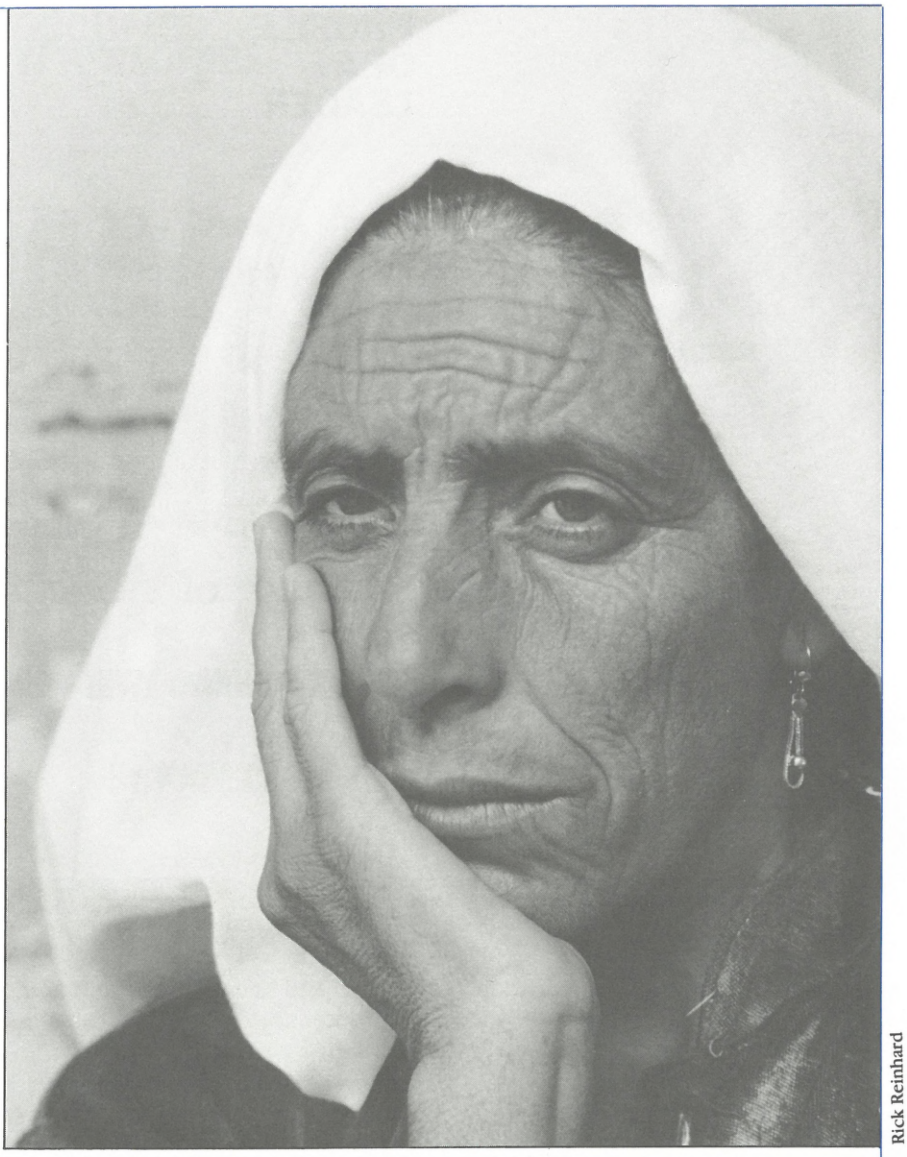
World support for the newly born Israel in 1948 was granted in part due to the political realism of David Ben-Gurion, who persuaded his people to accept the Partition Plan, even though it fell far short of the dreams of most Jews. This ability to distinguish between "grand design" and "Realpolitik," to use Professor Yehoshafat Harkabi's terms, is something the Palestinians as a whole have only recently acquired. They have now reached that stage. Meanwhile, Israel has unfortunately decided to abandon the differentiation. Yet in the face of the new order created by the *Intifadah,*

political realism is something Israel desperately needs.

Israel cannot and should not ignore the Palestinian political realism which is a direct result of the *Intifadah* and an integral part of the new order the Uprising has helped to create. The new way of thinking that the *Intifadah* has brought about has ushered in a new attitude in the entire world toward the Palestinians. It has forced King Hussein to relinquish his claims to the West Bank. Hopefully, it will also succeed in convincing the Israelis to channel their policies into more positive and constructive ways.

Perhaps learning to appreciate the less visible side of the *Intifadah*—namely, the side of internal recovery and recuperation—will make it easier for Israelis to overcome their fear and anxiety toward the *Intifadah's* more overt aspects. Israeli political realism should include sensitivity toward a neighbor struggling to regain its balance, to stand on its own two feet. As has so far been the case, Israel can choose to knock the neighbor down, creating an enemy. But Israel can also change its policies and extend a helping hand, thereby gaining a friend and partner for future normal relations and common efforts.

The main thrust of the *Intifadah* as I see it is twofold. One aspect of it is visible and must seem threatening to the Israelis watching it happen. The other is internal and therefore less visible to the Israelis, but equally important—in the longrun, more important for both the Palestinians and their Israeli neighbors. This latter part of the *Intifadah* is positive, constructive, and if allowed to succeed, will lead to a better society for all concerned. It should be met with tolerance, if not with admiration on the part of the Israelis, since it aims not so much at destruction of the old, but at construction of the new.



Rick Reinhard

Woman from Shati refugee camp whose husband died of tear gas inhalation.

The Israelis see that the *Intifadah* damages their economy, hurts their image in the world, and forces them to face unpleasant realities and alternatives. But they still should be able to perceive the constructive process that is taking place simultaneously and dialectically. Perhaps it is true that it is not easy for Israel to wake up to the new reality when it has been used to an easily maintained status quo that was more of a benefit than a cost. But what it must realize is that there are benefits for Israel in the new order as well.

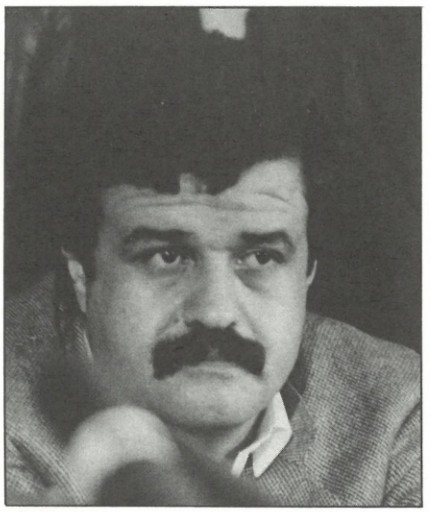
Not the least of these benefits is a new generation of proud, self-reliant, productive individuals who can serve as equal partners in future joint economic, political, and social developments. This new generation of Palestinians is determined to break away from and shake off its past, with all its political failures and social handicaps. The Israelis should be able to see that the new wind has also brought about a new stage in the political attitudes of the Palestinian leadership. This new political realism—the expressions of which are the Bassam Abu Sharif document, Faisal Hussaini's independence plan, and above all Abu Ayyad's declaration that the PLO is willing to negotiate mutual recognition with Israel—are awaiting Israel's positive response. ■

PROFILE OF A LEADER

AKRAM HANIYEH

The Deported Editor of *Al-Shaab* Newspaper

BY SUHA TAWIL



Akram Haniyeh.

For at least several generations, the Haniyeh family lived in the village of Abu Shousheh, near Ramleh and Lodd. But like hundreds of thousands of Palestinian families, this family was forced to flee from its home during the war in 1948. The Haniyehs settled in the town of Ramallah. Thus, on April 4, 1953, Ramallah came to be the birthplace of Akram Abdul-Salam Haniyeh.

Akram Haniyeh was a good student. He was awarded a scholarship to study English at Cairo University. After he received his bachelor's degree in 1976, he went to Jordan to work with the Amman-based *Al-Shaab* newspaper. In 1978, he decided to return home to the West Bank. From 1980 to 1981, he worked as an officer in the Public Relations Department of Bir Zeit University. Subsequently, he became the editor-in-chief of *Al-Shaab* newspaper in Jerusalem (different than the Amman-based *Al-Shaab* newspaper), a position he held until he was deported in November 1986.

In the meantime, between 1983-85, he headed the Arab Journalists' Union. He was also the youngest member of the National Guidance committee. The committee was made up of prominent Palestinians and reflected the local leadership supportive of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The committe was short-lived. The government of Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin disbanded the committee and outlawed it.

Haniyeh was able to maintain this level of activity despite the fact that he was placed under house arrest in Ramallah for three consecutive years starting in 1981. In the beginning of 1982, he was even arrested as a security detainee for 35 days, and later, on November 3, 1986, he was arrested and charged with being a pro-PLO political activist. Two weeks later, on November 23, he was deported by plane to Switzerland and handed over to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Haniyeh is reputed to be among the most prominent short-story

See ***HANIYEH****, page 31*

Suha Tawil is a correspondent for The Return *in Paris.*

THE HUMAN TOLL OF HOUSE DEMOLITIONS

BY KATE CASA

The road from the main square in Jalazoun refugee camp near Ramallah on the West Bank winds up a hill and around a bend where tiny houses squeeze in on it from all sides. Finally, it leads to the first open expanse, a pile of rubble and spidery cables. Off to the left, a canvas tent looks oddly new and white against its surroundings. On one corner of the tent flap is stitched a label which reads: "Donated by the West German Red Cross."

Inside the tent are all the worldly possessions of an old blind man whose wealth once included a villa in Jaffa surrounded by acres of orange groves. One photograph remains from those days. In it, Abd Al-Hadi Ramaba wears sporty pleated trousers and a jaunty wide tie. His face is set in the serious pose of the day, and his air is one of confidence. At 30, how could he have guessed his life would near its end with two sons in prison, his only home located in a refugee camp demolished, his sight gone, and the few things he owns tucked precariously into a donated tent?

The wreckage at the site of a demolished home in Jalazoun refugee camp. In the background, a mother and eleven children must make do in a donated tent.

The road through the camp continues upward, through a jumble of odd-shaped houses, past an occasional shop, a roadside stand where children sell gum and sugary sweet red liquid in plastic bags. On the second curve, another white tent interrupts an impressive vista of rolling sage-covered hills. The rubble that it sits amidst indicates the home that was once there was very large. In fact, it had been a 16-year project, the lifelong dream of the 12-member Nahleh family. Many of the construction workers, brick layers and plumbers who built the house have not yet been paid. Five tiny Nahleh children burst from the neighbor's house where they now live, circling their visitors and crying out the only English they know: "PLO! Israel no!" Their mother struggles with the muddy

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hands of her youngest, just over a year old, to show him how to hold up two fingers in a victory sign for the photographer.

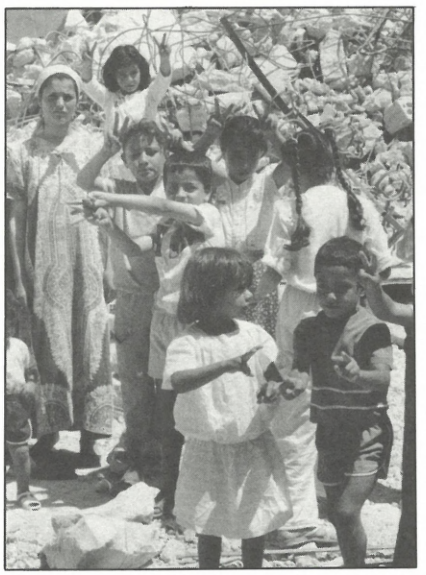
Back the other way, less than 100 yards, is the mound of broken concrete that was once the home of the Ramahi family. It was one of the four houses demolished by the Israeli army on August 3.

It was just a little after midnight, when hundreds of troops sealed off the Jalazoun camp and placed its 10,000 residents under curfew. From the airless heat of their closed houses they could hear the rumble of Israeli army bulldozers as they ripped walls, pipes, floors and furniture. By the end of the night, more than 35 of their neighbors had been left bewildered and homeless.

The Israeli practice of house demolition or closure, permitted under Regulation 119 of the 1945 Emergency Defence Regulations—a legacy of the British occupation of Palestine conveniently adopted by the Israelis—tends to fall between the cracks of international attention. Sandwiched between more blatant Iron Fist tactics, such as deportation and administrative detention, it can be overlooked somehow as less poignant or bloody. But such impressions are relative. And to someone like six-year-old Samiya Ramahi, the havoc wreaked by the blade of an Israeli army bulldozer is as real as the occupation is likely to get.

After Mahmoud Ramahi was arrested in 1986, for alleged affiliation with Al-Fatah, soldiers came one night with an order in Hebrew to seal the family's house, leaving Mahmoud's wife and six children homeless. The trauma was so great for Samiya, then five, that the child refused to eat or drink anything for two weeks. After a series of medical visits, doctors at Hadassah Hospital diagnosed her problem as kidney failure and placed Samiya on dialysis. After three months of treatment, doctors said the girl was well enough to go home. But when they discovered that she had no home to go to, they refused to release her. Her doctors even petitioned former military commander Efram Sneh to allow the family to open at least one room of the house to accommodate the sick child. Sneh refused.

Back the other way, less than 100 yards, is the mound of broken concrete that was once the home of the Ramahi family. It was one of the four houses demolished by the Israeli army on August 3.



A Palestinian family made refugee in its own refugee camp, Jalazoun.

During Samiya's hospitalization, the Ramahis, as well as three other Jalazoun families, asked for and received permission from UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) to construct a second floor on their sealed homes. The Ramahi's oldest son, Ayman, began construction only to be summoned to the military headquarters in Ramallah and told he must stop. He said:

> They informed me that I was building on state property—my father's house—which they said became the property of the Israeli government when it was sealed. They told me I would be imprisoned for two months if I continued to build, and warned that if I did so they would come and destroy everything.

With help from relatives, the Ramahis collected enough money to purchase a small home near their first one in Jalazoun. During the time that had elapsed, however, another son, 17-year-old Mamoun, was arrested for allegedly throwing stones. On August 3, Samiya came home from the hospital. That night, an Israeli colonel pounded on the Ramahis' door and informed them they had half an hour to remove their things. Their home was being destroyed.

Ayman recounted the evening:

> They told us we only had half an hour, so the soldiers would help remove our belongings. But I said I wouldn't allow the soldiers into my house. When the colonel came to the door I

showed him my sister and the Hadassah reports. He responded, "What can I do? It's an order. He had a paper in his hand, but when I asked to see it, he wouldn't show it to me.

He told us all to go into our neighbor'shouse and close the door. I went to Samiya then and told her, "Don't worry about this. It was a bad house and the soldiers are helping us to get rid of it."

My mother carried her to the neighbors, but when my sister realized that Samiya's medicine was still in the house, she rushed back to get it. The soldiers began beating her. I saw that and ran out, so they began to beat me, too, dozens of soldiers beating me and beating me with their gun butts.

Ayman is a slim, calm, soft-spoken boy. He left school when his father was arrested and has taken up a job on the same newspaper where his father worked, *Al-Fajr*. He also worked part time for UNRWA. When the camp was under prolonged curfew earlier this year, he would escape from a back way and walk to a neighboring village where he caught a bus to Ramallah so that he could get to work and bring food back for his family. Samiya bears a striking resemblance to her brother. Both have large, serious eyes and quiet mannerisms that bring to mind the hardships they have endured.

Once reserved as retribution for serious crimes, the sealing and demolition of houses has become a common practice of the Israeli military government, which claims to implement it as a deterrent. That logic is difficult to follow when in most cases, demolition is meted out as punishment to the families of those already in prison. Many of them have not been tried or convicted for their alleged crimes.

And to someone like six-year-old Samiya Ramahi, the havoc wreaked by the blade of an Israeli army bulldozer is as real as the occupation is likely to get.

Samiya Ramahi, a six-year-old resident of Jalazoun refugee camp, has already lost two homes to Israel's practice of house demolitions.

Of the four houses demolished in Jalazoun on August 3, each involved the family of a boy arrested for throwing stones or Molotov cocktails. Earlier this year, a Beit Ummar home was destroyed because a Molotov cocktail was thrown from its roof, although the occupants were not connected with the attack.

Because of the prevalence of the punishment, statistics are quickly outdated. Al-Haq, a Palestinian human rights organization, estimates that in 1987, a total of 36 houses belonging to Palestinians living in the West Bank, were either partially or completely demolished or sealed. For 1988, that figure was surpassed by April 4. Israeli army records show that 75 homes have been demolished, 19 have been partially destroyed, and 13 have been scaled. Houses belonging to Palestinians are also demolished within Israel, allegedly as a result of unlicensed construction. In June and July alone, 26 homes of Israeli Arabs were bulldozed.

Despite a ruling by the Israeli High Court of Justice in June, 1987, that a hearing procedure prior to demolition was "important and required arranging," the Israeli army has stalled on its implementation, arguing that Regulation 119 states nothing about the right to a hearing. The Israeli army did affirm in court that it was preparing a set of procedures and that only in grave and exceptional cases would a hearing be denied.

In June, the Association for Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI) filed a petition in the High Court asking that the army implement the promised procedure without exception. ACRI is also asking that the Israeli army allow families at least 48 hours to seek judicial intervention if the demolition or sealing order is not rescinded after

*See **TOLL**, page 31*

THE VATICAN AND PALESTINE

BY GEORGE E. IRANI

Today, there are 10 to 12 million Christians in the Middle East. Six to eight percent of them belong to the Palestinian community. The importance of Palestine or the Holy Land to Christians, Muslims, and Jews cannot be ignored. The Vatican has always been concerned about the plight of the Palestinian people, and it has attempted to play a mediating role between Arabs and Jews.

In September, 1982, Pope John Paul II received PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat at the Vatican. That was a highly significant gesture toward the Palestinians which provided an opportunity for the Vatican to restate its opposition to any act of terrorism and reprisals, and its support for the right of the Palestinians to a homeland, and the right of Israel to its own security.

Last September, addressing representatives of major Jewish organizations in Miami, John Paul II underlined the current attitude of the Vatican toward the Palestinian-Israeli dispute:

> After the tragic extermination of the Shoah (Holocaust), the Jewish people began a new period in their history. They have a right to a homeland as does any civil nation according to international law . . . . What has been said about the right to a homeland also applies to the Palestinian people, so many of whom remain homeless and refugee . . . .

This statement is of fundamental importance in understanding the Vatican's stand. First, the Pope acknowledged the right of the Jews to a homeland based on the principles of international law, thus rejecting any religious justification for the state of Israel. Second, John Paul II underlined a long-standing Catholic position: Palestinians have the same right to nationhood that the Israelis have in Palestine. Third, one must stress the context in which the Miami speech was made. The Pope addressed the conflict between Arabs and Israelis in the United States, and with an eye to the international media covering the papal trip. It was as if the pontiff wanted to give his words worldwide resonance and put to rest speculations on Vatican diplomatic maneuvers in the Middle East, especially toward Israel.

In December 1987, Pope John Paul II took a historic step and appointed the first Palestinian ever as Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. The Most Reverend Michael Sabbah was named patriarch after a term as president of Bethlehem University. The Pope's decision was a signal to the Palestinian and Christian community in the Occupied Territories. Rome considers the Palestinians mature enough to have one of their own appointed to cater to their spiritual needs. (Previous Jerusalem patriarchs were mostly of European origin.) Further, despite Vatican official denial, the Pope's move had a significant political impact. It was a discreet message to the Israeli government and the world community that the time is ripe to recognize that the Palestinians should enjoy the same rights to self-determination that other nations take for granted.

In his public statements, Patriarch

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Sabbah reflected the Pope's attitude toward the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. In January of this year, Israeli troops entered a Roman Catholic church in Ramallah and fired on the congregation. Immediately after the incident, leaders of the seven major Christian churches in Jerusalem, Sabbah included, issued a joint statement which was suppressed by Israeli authorities.

The statement called for a week of prayer and fasting and went on to say:

> the recent painful events in our land which have resulted in so many victims, both killed and wounded, are a clear indication of the grievous suffering of our people on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. They are also a visible expression of our people's aspirations to achieve their legal rights and the realization of their hopes.

On January 17, 1988, in reply to a question by a Tunisian journalist regarding Israeli tear gas attacks against Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, Pope John Paul II reiterated his stand on the *Intifadah* and the Palestinian issue:

> in Miami . . . I said clearly that the Holy See supports (the Jewish people's) rights to have their own homeland, but at the same time supports the same rights of another people . . . the Palestine Arab people . . . to have their own homeland.

Another dramatic example of the Roman Catholic stand toward the Uprising came in an article published in March, 1988, by the Rome-based Jesuit biweekly magazine *Civilta' Cattolica.* This publication often reflects Vatican thinking and its articles usually receive prior approval for publication by the Vatican Secretariat of State.

In the article entitled "The Palestinian Uprising", the editor, Father Giovanni Rulli, described the Israeli military repression against the Palestinian *Intifadah* as a vendetta that recalls the crimes of the Holocaust:

> Faced with such a spectacle, one cannot help but think of the most horrible crimes—of those very crimes the Jewish people endured during the harshest periods of persecution, when they, too, seemed destined for extinction, for the "final solution."

Father Rulli went on to ask what were the reasons behind the Palestinian *Intifadah.* His answer was that the Uprising was caused in part by the lack of a Palestinian homeland, the absence of self-determination and national identity, land expropriation, and other colonialist methods implemented by the Israeli army in the Occupied Territories, and finally a racist attitude which permeates large segments of the Israeli population.

These highly critical words could not have been written if they were not the expression of the negative attitude toward the Israeli government's behavior in some Catholic circles. Father Rulli's assessment is very strong but his parallel with the fate of the Jews during World War II irked some Catholic and Jewish circles, primarily here in the United States. What is certain is that European Catholics, especially the Italians, have always been at the forefront in expressing their solidarity with oppressed populations.

Since the beginning of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the Vatican adopted a fair and equidistant stand toward both Israeli and Palestinian claims. From his September, 1987 speech to Jewish leaders in Miami, to his statement on Palestinian rights in his June, 1988 trip to Austria, Pope John Paul II has emphasized his pain, solidarity, and concern about the bloodletting in the Holy Land.

The Palestinians of the *Intifadah* can be assured that as long as human rights and self-determination are a constant priority for John Paul II, they can count on a friendly and understanding ear in Rome. ■

Pope John Paul II greeting PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat at the Vatican.

NOT SEEING THE OTHER SIDE

BY STEVEN L. HERMAN

Israeli occupation authorities accuse visitors, especially American journalists, of seeing only half the picture when they report on what is happening in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Broadcast reports and written dispatches are filled with scenes of a David-versus-Goliath conflict, only this time the Israeli Defense Forces are Goliath, and the role of David is played by young, stone-throwing Palestinians.

Fida Al-Shrafi will never be able to see more than half the picture. This little girl is truly a child of the ten-month-old *Intifadah.* Fida was born in the Jabaliya refugee camp the same month the Uprising began. During her lifetime, the Uprising has spread from Jabaliya to the rest of the Occupied Territories.

At the age of seven months, an Israeli soldier fired a rubber bullet and hit Fida in the eye. Witnesses in the camp say another soldier then walked up and plucked out the wounded baby's eye.

Steven L. Herman is broadcast editor for a major international news agency. He has just returned from assignment to the Occupied Territories.

I visited Fida and her family during my trip to the Occupied Territories. While I was with them, a visitor came to their home to check on the baby's welfare.

The visitor, Amin Al-Fahris (not his real name), is an English teacher who has spent the last 35 years in the Jabaliya refugee camp. But Al-Fahris fears his stay there may soon come to an end.

Al-Fahris says he would love to live somewhere else, preferably in his home village destroyed by Israeli troops during the 1948 war. However, Al-Fahris believes his next move could be to jail, perhaps the notorious Ansar-III (Ketziot) detention camp in the Negev Desert.

Al-Fahris admits that he has committed a couple of "offenses" that have caused the occupation authorities to watch him very closely—he has been teaching English clandestinely, despite a forced closure of schools in the camp.

Perhaps, he says, the Israelis do not want him reciting his life story, which stands as eloquent testimony to the plight of the Palestinians since the emergence of the modern state of Israel. It is a story that he only tells to visitors after some pleading and with great trepidation.

At the age of two, in his home village of Huliqat, about 12 miles from where he now lives, Al-Fahris experienced the darker side of the birth of the Jewish state.

"One day Israeli troops surrounded the village on three sides," he recalls from what his mother later told him. "They left one side open when they began to attack the village. They left the free side, of course, in order to allow the people to leave." And those who did leave, were caught in an Israeli air raid.

"The fighter dropped a bomb on us. It killed almost all of my family—two brothers, three sisters. My mother and I were wounded." Al-Fahris' mother, taken to an Egyptian military hospital, thought that all her children had been killed.

"They went to bury us and they dug two graves—one for the girls and one for the boys." Al-Fahris' seemingly lifeless body was put on top of the boys' grave. "They came to bury me because they thought I was dead. Finally, one of them touched my wound and I cried."

As this happened, Al-Fahris says, the Israelis attacked again. So the sobbing, wounded infant was abandoned. Later, an old woman, who had remained hidden in the destroyed village, passed by the cemetery on her way out of town and discovered the wounded two-year-old.

Meanwhile, his mother was in the hospital refusing to take medication. "She wanted to die because she had lost her home and her family. What else was she going to live for?" her son asked. She only began to take medication when she discovered that one of her children was still alive.

When his mother left the hospital, she had nowhere to live, and no source of income. "My mother began to collect animal manure from the street," he said. She sold it to landowners to fertilize the soil. We were earning about a penny a day."

The two subsisted like this until 1950 when UNRWA (the United Nations Relief and Works Agency) gave them a small tent. Al-Fahris says, "I remember the first day we put up the tent. I was very glad because I had a place to sleep—a place to protect me from the cold of winter. It even snowed for the first time in Gaza."

The Jabaliya refugee camp was built in 1953, and at the age of seven, Al-Fahris and his mother were moved there. They have been there ever since.

Al-Fahris recalls that when he handed his first paycheck to his mother she refused to take it, asking him instead to find a woman to marry so he "could give me my family back." Now, Al-Fahris, his wife, his mother, his three sons and five daughters all share a three-bedroom home in the camp. A tin roof covers most of the ceiling.

His mother refers to some of her son's children not by their own

At the age of seven months, Fida Al-Shrafi lost her eye to an Israeli rubber bullet.

Rick Reinhard

Steven Herman

A view of Jabaliya refugee camp.

names, but by the names of their uncles and aunts—her children—killed in 1948.

"I have been a refugee now for 40 years. I feel like an orphan. No one cares," Al-Fahris intones. "Sometimes I am too aware of the imprint on my thoughts."

He gazes out at the camp.

"We hope the United Nations, now, especially after the *Intifadah,* can help the people. Because now, the world can see how we are suffering," he says.

Al-Fahris looks to see if the coast is clear. No Israeli troops are passing by at the moment so he gives his foreign visitor a clandestine tour of the camp.

Jabaliya refugee camp stands as an affront to humanity. Every living creature, from the newborn baby in the ill-equipped camp hospital to the goat or chicken roaming the unpaved streets, appears underweight. Open sewers flow into a giant septic lake. Used tear gas canisters are draped from utility lines. Everywhere there is trash, and in the middle of the camp are the rusting remnants of shanties bulldozed by vengeful soldiers.

Jabaliya refugee camp stands as an affront to humanity. Every living creature, from the newborn baby in the ill-equipped camp hospital to the goat or chicken roaming the unpaved streets, appears underweight. Open sewers flow into a giant septic lake.

"Every house has its own tragedy," Al-Fahris says. Some homes one visits here have stories about family members being beaten, arrested, sent to detention camps or deported. Others, like the Al-Shrafi household, tell of someone who has been shot.

According to a camp official who serves as a liaison to the United Nations, Fida Al-Shrafi is one of eight children in Jabaliya to lose an eye in the past ten months.

"After that, how do you think relations will be between the people and the Israelis?" Al-Fahris asks. "We hope that they can change their minds for once, and reflect, and know that they can't rule these people by force."

An Israeli convoy passes by outside. The family closes the metal door at the front of the house.

Al-Fahris pauses, then continues to speak. "How can people or a state which preaches democratic values ever rule by force over another people? I don't think it will remain true to its idiom." ■

ARAB-AMERICAN REPUBLICANS

How Central Are Middle East Issues to Them?

BY JOHN EGAN

For those favoring Palestinian self-determination, the Republican Party's platform unveiled in New Orleans on August 15 is a depressing document. Though considerably longer and more specific than the Democratic Party's Middle East platform, the extra length and specificity are largely devoted to extolling America's "moral and strategic relationship with Israel."

The Republican platform expressly rules out an independent Palestinian state, asserting that "peace treaties must be reached through direct negotiations and must never be imposed upon unwilling partners." This rhetoric has become a staple of recent U.S.-Israeli relations; translated, it means that the United States should continue its generous grant aid program to Israel and not use its considerable leverage to move Israeli politics toward a greater acceptance of peace with the Palestinians.

John Egan was managing editor of The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs *from 1986-1987.*

An Arab-American Committee for Bush-Quayle has been established, noted George Salem; the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign refused to allow the establishment of a similar group.

Israel's alleged ability to deter Soviet moves which may undercut American interests in the Middle East, is valued by the Republicans, who pledged in New Orleans to take "concrete steps to further institutionalize the partnership."

The Middle East views of both the Republican and Democratic presidential nominees were further clarified in separate addresses before the B'Nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's national convention in Baltimore on September 7. PLO participation in peace negotiations was categorically ruled out by Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, who added he would "never recognize the unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state." George Bush was more circumspect: PLO participation in peace talks would be impossible until the PLO accepted longstanding United Nations Resolutions and abandoned terrorism, the Vice President said, adding "the creation of a Palestinian state will not lead to peace."

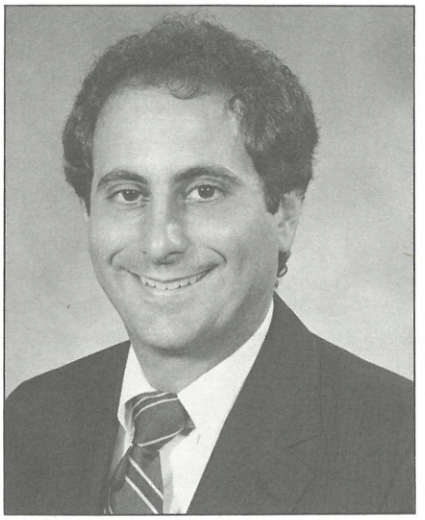
Despite a platform hostile to the interests of the Arab-American community, Arab-American organizers are confident that their community will vote Republican on November 8. This is because Jesse Jackson is not a candidate in the election, and because the overall social and economic agenda advanced by the GOP is in tune with the broader values of the Arab-American community.

"While many of our people supported Jesse Jackson because of his views on the Middle East, he is out of the picture now," Labor Department Solicitor of Labor George Salem told *The Return* in an interview. He recalls that Bush has met with Middle East leaders as well as leaders of the Arab-American community, and Salem believes that as president, Bush "will work for peace and justice in the Middle East." Moreover, Salem says, "his values on the economy, on crime, and on family concerns are consistent with our values."

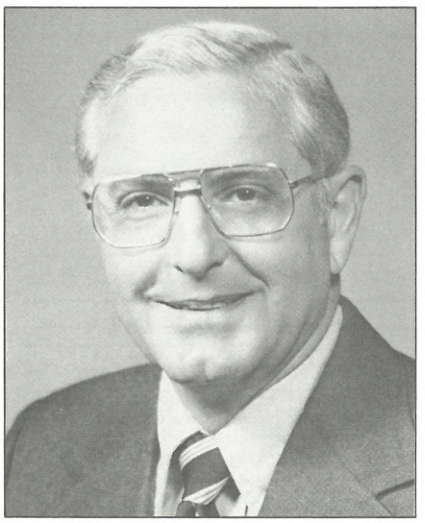
The quality of American schools and the strength of the domestic economy should concern Arab Americans more centrally than Middle East issues, adds Victor Atiyeh, the two-term former governor of Oregon. "You ask about Bush's position on the Middle East, but the major issue is America. We are Americans; we live in America; we raise our families in America."

"The Republican Party's emphasis on economic opportunity and job creation is the program for new immigrants, for people who came to America looking for a better life," says Charles Zogby, an Arab-American Federation coordinator in Washington, D.C. Although he disagrees with the Republican Party's Middle East platform, "that's one issue in ten," he says. It would be short-sighted for Arab Americans to move from one party to another based solely on the party's Middle East issues, Zogby notes.

Jesse Jackson received the early and fervent support of the Arab-American community in the 1984 primary season, but in the general election, those Arab Americans who voted, voted Republican. They vote Republican by 90 percent, Zogby claims, and he predicts it will happen again. "The Jackson numbers won't translate into support for Dukakis," he said in an interview.



George Salem, Solicitor of the U.S. Department of Labor, is the highest ranking Palestinian American serving in the Reagan administration.



Former governor of Oregon, Vic Atiyeh.

Jackson's suport for a balanced Middle East policy cannot offset Dukakis' pro-Israel tilt, according to former Governor Atiyeh. "The Jewish lobby is very strong, and they're a more powerful force than Jesse Jackson," he says, adding that, if Dukakis is elected, Arab Americans will be "shut out, we won't get even-handed treatment, which is essential in a decent Middle East settlement."

Arab Americans simply have not been involved in the political process, laments Atiyeh, who is traveling across the country organizing Arab Americans for the Republicans. The only way to change what the political system produces is to become part of that system, he argues.

Despite their comparatively late start, Arab Americans are already reaping some benefits from organizing. The first organized national effort to influence a presidential campaign began in August, 1984, according to Charles Zogby, and by May, 1985 the Arab-American Republican Federation had been formed and certified by the Republican Party's Heritage Groups Council, the party's ethnic auxiliary.

Now run through the Washington, D.C.-based Arab American Institute, the Arab-American Federation is becoming the institutional embodiment of Arab-American Republicanism, organizers say. The federation is made up of 12 local Arab-American clubs and is chaired by Nader Sayegh, president of the Yonkers, New York Arab-American Club.

An Arab-American Committee for Bush-Quayle has been established, noted George Salem; the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign refused to allow the establishment of a similar group. "The Bush campaign has given Arab Americans a bona fide, representative role [in the electoral process]. The Dukakis campaign has not. This should send a strong signal to Arab Americans about which ticket would be most responsive to their concerns," he remarks.

All three organizers agree that in choosing the next president, Arab Americans should not vote simply on the basis of a candidate's Middle East position. There are other issues—domestic issues which are also important to Arab Americans.

ISRAEL'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ISRAEL'S STOCK IS FALLING IN WESTERN EUROPE

BY JANE HUNTER

The ten months of the *Intifadah* have made a wasteland of Israel's foreign relations. So many governments have shunned contact with Israel that the protocol section of the Israeli foreign ministry, which handles visits to the country, has been completely idled.

Israeli expectations that a number of African states would restore diplomatic ties broken after the 1973 war have been dashed. From Latin America, a region traditionally supportive of Israel, have come condemnations of its harsh measures in the Occupied Territories and expressions of support for the Palestinian cause. Bolivia has upgraded its relations with the PLO, and Brazil, South America's powerhouse, is about to do the same. Only pressure from Washington has held it back.

But nowhere has it gone worse for Israel than in Western Europe, where reaction to events in the Occupied Territories is undermining important Israeli economic and political interests. In years past, despite occasional criticisms of the Israeli occupation and declarations favoring Palestinian self-determination, the governments of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the Nordic countries have been a bastion of support for Israel, blocking moves against it in the United Nations and other international organizations. Now, propelled by a wave of popular reaction to nightly television footage of Israeli soldiers beating and gassing Palestinian civilians, and by their own economic interests in the Middle East, the Europeans are moving from talk to action.

Since January, the European Parliament has blocked ratification of three agreements governing Israeli trade with the 12-nation EEC, Israel's most important trading partner. The agreements would give Israel non-preferential bank loans and set tariff rates on Israeli fruit, vegetable, and flower exports to the EEC. Like other non-member Mediterranean countries, Israel has an associate agreement with the community, under which its manufactured goods enter duty-free. It sought the new agreements, lowering tariffs on agricultural products, when Spain and Portugal—rival growers of the same Mediterranean crops as Israel—joined the EEC in 1986.

The 12 EEC members had approved the Israeli agreements in December, 1987, and all that remained was for the European Parliament to ratify them. In January, Israeli diplomats asked that the vote be postponed after canvassing Euro-parliamentarians and determining that their reaction to the *Intifadah* was very strong. In March, the European Parliament voted to reject the agreements. Israeli flower growers lost an entire export season.

In July, Israeli diplomats were relieved when the European Parliament's steering committee put off reconsidering the agreements until October. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed the body's September session. (See pages 34-39 for complete text of Arafat's address to the European Parliament.)

Nonetheless, postponing consideration until October creates problems for Israeli fruit, vegetable

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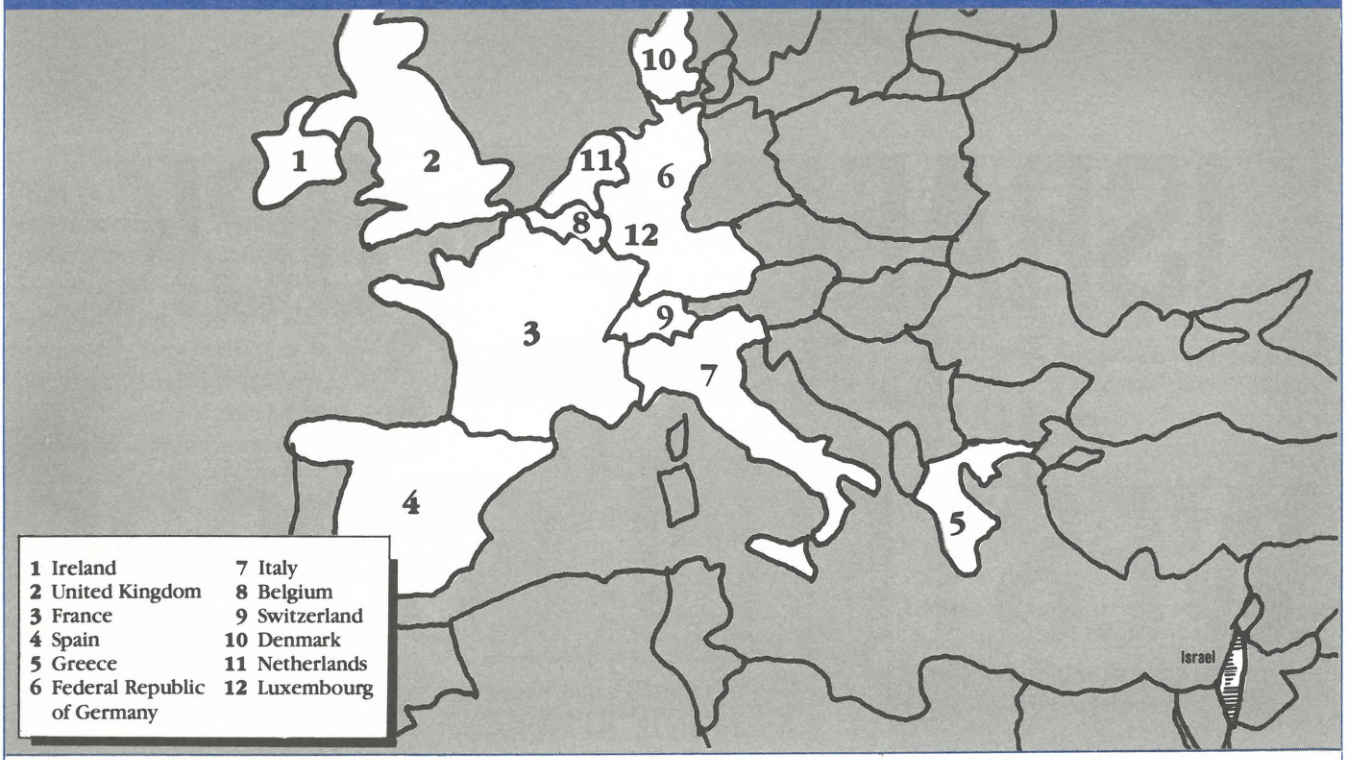
Jane Hunter is editor of the monthly publication Israeli Foreign Affairs.

Member Nations of the European Economic Community



and flower growers, whose produce will be ready for shipment that month. And Israeli foreign ministry officials are openly expressing doubts that the Parliament will ratify the agreements in October. In 1987, Israeli agricultural exports to the EEC amounted to $800 million.

Both sides understand that the trade agreements are also being held hostage to Israel's implementation of the agreement it made with the EEC to allow Palestinian residents of the Occupied Territories to export their produce direct and duty-free into Europe. Under the leadership of EEC Cooperation Commissioner Claude Cheysson, the Community embarked on this initiative in late 1986 as a way of "fostering the psychological independence of the Palestinian people" and delivering aid not controlled by Israel.

Israel did not want the Palestinian produce competing with its exports and it did not want to foster Palestinian nationalism, even in this small way. However, its cooperation was needed, as the Palestinian exports had to be shipped from Israeli ports. For months Israel stalled, arguing over such issues as how the produce would be labeled—with the name of the nearest town, it was finally decided, not "West Bank," and certainly not "Product of Palestine."

Even though the Israeli government announced several times that an agreement had been hammered out, hardliners, especially in the agriculture ministry, kept blocking its implementation. In July, when a group of European citrus importers, in a test of Israel's commitment to its word, announced it had signed a contract for 16,000 tons of citrus with growers in the Gaza Strip, an agriculture ministry official called the move "especially disgusting" in light of the EEC's refusal to ratify Israel's agreements—and insisted the ministry had received no applications for export documents.

The EEC has punctuated the trade standoff with statements condemning Israel's Iron Fist policy. In June, the foreign ministers of the 12 EEC countries declared that the status quo in the Occupied Territories could not continue and called for the convening of an international peace conference.

In mid-August the diplomatic representatives of Spain, West Germany, and Greece took the unusual step of going as an EEC delegation to the Israeli foreign ministry to lodge a protest over Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories. The delegation contended that Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories were in violation of the Geneva Conventions. They expressed particular concern over the administrative detention (jailing without charges) of Faisal Hussaini, a Palestinian leader who was arrested soon after speaking in favor of a two-state peace proposal to a group of Israeli Jews.

The EEC countries are also acting individually. Last year Greece, the only European country without full-scale diplomatic relations with Israel, had declared itself ready to exchange ambassadors with Israel. This was expected of Athens before its July 1 rotation into the EEC presidency, but none of the EEC members criticized it when it decided not to expand relations because of Israel's response to the *Intifadah*. Greece and Spain (Spain only recognized Israel when it entered the EEC two years ago) are

seen as the most likely members of the community to recognize a Palestinian provisional government, should one be declared.

Ireland has refused to accept a resident Israeli ambassador, and Portugal decided not to open a chancery in Tel Aviv or to accredit its ambassador in Rome to represent it in Israel. France and Spain canceled a scheduled visit by Israel's minister of tourism.

Many European officials canceled visits to Israel planned before the *Intifadah.* Those who decided—usually after one or more postponements—to go to Israel have been outspoken without precedent in public appearances with Israeli leaders. At a press conference in Jerusalem in July, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek sharply criticized Israeli practices in the Occupied Territories and reiterated Holland's support for Palestinian self-determination.

Last spring Sweden's Foreign Minister Sten Andersson not only criticized Israel's Iron Fist policies, he pointedly reminded Israelis that Sweden's support for the United Nations partition of 1947 had included support of a *Palestinian* as well as a Jewish state. Andersson emphasized that Sweden regards the PLO as the representative of the Palestinians under occupation.

In the early weeks of the *Intifadah,* David Mellor, the British foreign office minister responsible for the Middle East, flayed Israeli leaders for collecting taxes in the Gaza Strip while failing to spend money on improving conditions there. Mellor's criticisms were echoed by the Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock and its foreign policy spokesman Gerald Kaufman. Kaufman, who is Jewish, rejected Israel's response to the Uprising and declared his support for Palestinian self-determination. Recently, in an interview with an Egyptian paper, Mellor compared Israel with South Africa.

After complaints from its customers, the leading Danish supermarket chain, which had taken 75 percent of Israel's agricultural exports to Denmark, removed Israeli products from its shelves.

At a May meeting of the Socialist International in Madrid, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres persuaded the representatives of the European social democratic parties to water down the tough resolution they wanted. Peres argued that a strong statement would undermine his Labor party, which is affiliated with the international body. Reluctantly, the Italians, the Spanish, the Danes and the Swedes, whose party currently holds power, agreed to Peres' language. However, following the Israeli elections this fall, a further burst of condemnation is likely. French social democrats have already begun to offer fraternal criticism.

European citizens have also taken matters into their own hands. Last winter a broad coalition of Italians organized a series of demonstrations calling for an international peace conference. There have been vehemently anti-Israel demonstrations in Greece and Cyprus, as well. A group of French intellectuals, among them many Jews, has campaigned for negotiations and an Israeli withdrawal from the Occupied Territories. Doctors, lawyers, and other delegations have visited the Occupied Territories and campaigned in their own countries for material aid and political support for the rebelling Palestinians.

After complaints from its customers, the leading Danish supermarket chain, which had taken 75 percent of Israel's agricultural exports to Denmark, removed Israeli products from its shelves. A wall mural featuring an automatic rifle and a call for a boycott of Israeli goods remained on display in Hamburg West Germany, four months after authorities promised it would be removed. Greek, Belgian, and Swedish cities canceled their sister city agreements with Israeli cities.

Yet despite its plummeting reputation and the political snubs, Israel's trade with several European countries has grown. Between January and May, Israeli exports to Spain rose 64 percent, exports to the Netherlands rose 29 percent, and sales to Portugal also increased. Even Greece, whose tough line on Israel has in the past extended an array of trade barriers, allowed Israeli exports to triple in the first five months of 1988.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to interpret the disparity between European positions toward Israel and these trade increases as an indication that the Europeans are simply posturing. They have important markets in the region and their cities are full of guest workers from Arab countries. Convinced that if the *Intifadah* continues on into a stalemate there is a great possibility of war, Europeans have become increasingly unhappy with the bystander's role in the Middle East that has been assigned to them by Washington. ■

***DEPORTATION,** from page 10*

Al-Shaab newspaper still lives in exile, a man without a country. In Athens, waiting for the *Ship of Return,* he spoke of the wound that banishment cuts in the soul of the deported:

> When I am alone at night, I always think about a Palestinian poet who died five years ago in a hotel room in London. His friends searched for five days to find a suitable place for him to be buried. Many Arab countries refused. I think many Palestinians living in exile think of that possibility. It is one reason we are searching for our rights. We want to live in our country. We want to have a place to live, and also a place to be buried in. We are struggling for a homeland, and also for a cemetery, . . . a place to be buried.

For all the grief and separation of banishment, it is perhaps this final dilemma that most keenly brings home the anguish of exile.

For both of these deportees, as well as for the four million Palestinians living in the exile of the diaspora, the drive to return is relentless. It will not abate until return is a reality. ■

***SKY,** from page 12*

When Jonathan Jay Pollard, a U.S. civilian naval intelligence analyst, was arrested in 1985 for spying for Israel, many Israeli analysts declared that Israel had used him as a last resort. Pollard was only supplying badly needed intelligence the Reagan administration had withheld from Israel, they said.

Clearly, intelligence sharing has been one of the most powerful levers the American executive has had over Israel. Israel might be dependent on the $3 billion in U.S. aid it receives yearly, but if an administration tried to freeze or veto that aid, Israel could count on Congress to quickly start it flowing again.

Former CIA Director William Casey chose to use the leverage he gained by providing intelligence to Israel to enlist Israel's help in covert activities, especially in the Reagan administration's effort to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. However, a future administration might wish to pressure Israel to a peace conference, to recognize the

PLO, to limit or dismantle its nuclear weapons program, or to stop its supply of conventional and nuclear weapons technology to South Africa.

Intelligence sharing has also been a brake. Israel had been pressing the United States to do something about Iraq's reactor, but until it got the satellite photos of Iraq, it had been unable to make good on its threat to destroy the facility. Pakistan's reactor is still standing and Israel's often-predicted "next" war has not broken out. But, now that *Shavit* has lofted the prototype of Israel's new spy satellite into orbit, both lever and brake will be gone. ■

***HANIYEH**, from page 16*

writers in the Occupied Territories. He has published several works including these anthologies: *Defeat of a Clever Boy Named Hassan, Last Boast, Last Harbour,* and *Rites for Another Day.*

Currently, Haniyeh serves as an advisor to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat on matters relating to the Occupied Territories. He is also a member of the standing committee that deals with the *Intifadah.* Most recently, he was named along with Nabil Sha'ath as a member of the Palestinian delegation which was scheduled to meet in Cairo with Richard Murphy, the U.S. under-secretary of state for Near East Affairs. However, that meeting was cancelled after the United States objected to the inclusion of Haniyeh and Sha'ath in the delegation because of their ties to the PLO.

Although his family has urged him to get married and start his own family, at the age of 35, Haniyeh is still a bachelor. ■

TOLL, *from page 25*

a hearing.

Although the Israeli army has accorded these rights to the citizens of the village of Beita in the West Bank (where 14 houses were bulldozed last Spring for "incitement" following the accidental shooting death of an Israeli girl by her settler guard), it subsequently refused to apply them to the remainder of the West Bank and Gaza. In its petition, ACRI inquired as to why Beita should be different from other towns and cities in the Occupied Territories. The Beita arrangement is "the minimum fair procedure required" before the execution of a demolition or closure order, ACRI argued.

In August, in response to ACRI's petition, the Israeli army filed its long-awaited revised procedure, which does indeed indicate hearings would be granted except in "grave and exceptional cases." But observers point out such subjective language could be applied to every potential demolition case.

Since the judicial wheels have been put in motion, several Gaza families have successfully forestalled demolition of their homes, making it seem, at least unofficially, that the Israeli army has actually implemented its new policy. But ACRI remains skeptical, and has no plans to drop its petition. The Israeli High Court of Justice has yet

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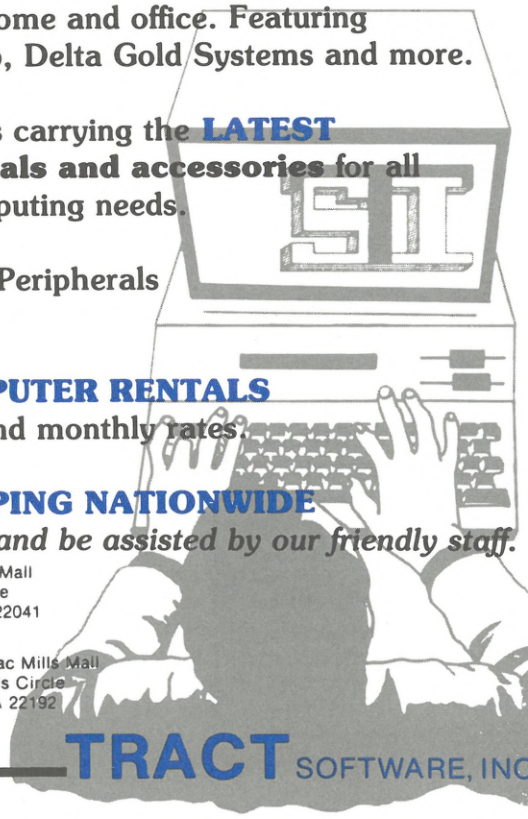

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to formally accept the new Israeli army procedure, and ACRI promises it will push on until the right to a hearing in every case, without exception, eliminates the midnight knock at the door.

The right of an individual to a fair hearing before action is taken against him is a fundamental legal principle, ACRI argues, and one of the rudiments of natural justice. How far "natural justice" extends into the Occupied Territories, however, has long been a point of debate. ■

***REPUBLICANS**, from page 26*

Charles Zogby mentions that, most of the jobs created in the last eight years have been in small business, and suggests that small-business owners would be the first group of Americans to feel the pinch of new taxes. While the stereotype of Arab-American immigrants running mom-and-pop grocery stores in Detroit hardly conveys the complexity of Arab-American assimilation into mainstream American life, it remains a fact that there is a louder voice for small business owners in the Arab-American community than there is for large corporate interests. Arab-American assimilation therefore follows the patterns established by Irish, Polish and other ethnic groups, who now understand that if the community's voice is to be heard on issues which concern it, the voice must move from the relatively insulated ethnic community into the broader political arena. ■

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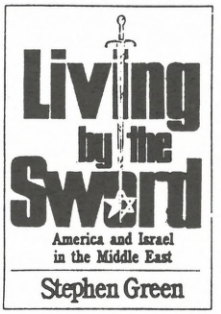

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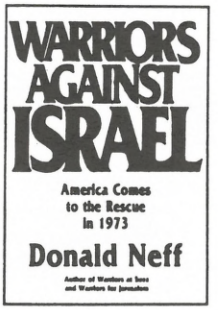

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A CALL FOR PEACE

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's Speech to the European Parliament Strasbourg, France, Tuesday, September 13, 1988

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

It was a source of pleasure for me to receive and accept your invitation to this encounter in the hope that it will lead to greater mutual understanding over the problem of the Palestinian people and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the essence and crux of which is the Palestine cause.

As human beings, we need a genuine understanding which satisfies the heart and the conscience, for the interaction of the conscience and the mind enables us to take the right stand, the correct decision and the proper action.

I want to address your consciences and your minds because I am fully convinced that the best weapon to be used in presenting the Palestine cause is the weapon of truth which addresses the mind while interacting with the conscience.

I also attach special importance to discussion and dialogue with you because, as parliamentarians, you represent the people the natural source of authority—who have given you their confidence and, consequently, the prerogative to turn words into law.

That's why I do not view the parliamentarian only as a politician or a representative of his people. I also see in him a conscience or a mind with special responsibility. Whoever enacts laws cannot break with justice. Justice is the corollary of law, it is also the corollary of peace. There can be no peace without justice. There can also be no permanent stability without real peace.

Because I am convinced that the aforementioned points are human rules, hence universal, allow me to say this: the proof of truthfulness and seriousness about affinity to democracy, freedom, national independence, peace and justice is the belief in the right of others to all that. To restrict these to one people or a group of peoples to the exclusion of others runs contrary to all that they mean, with preclusion becoming some sort of vicious selfishness concealing masked dictatorship. Democracy, freedom, national independence, human rights, peace and justice are for all human beings. This is the course charted by the history of mankind.

It is only natural for our discussion then to revolve around the right of the Palestinian people to freedom, independence, peace and stability after a near-century-old struggle in that strategic and sensitive part of the world which interweaves with Europe and where one of the parties to the conflict, namely Israel, has become a nuclear force.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

The European socialist movement and others in the Western world exerted special efforts to help set up the State of Israel. It had not crossed anyone's mind that the outcome of international diplomacy to solve the problem of Nazi victims would be at the Palestinian people's expense, in that our people have been victimized by the victim and its allies, becoming stateless and without identity or the most elementary human rights. Today, 60 percent of our people find themselves scattered all over the world and 40 percent of them are living under the yoke of a hateful occupation.

I imagine, ladies and gentlemen, that you would agree with me if I described this condition as being the cause of great suffering for any people. It is the most difficult type of persecution to which any people can be subjected in modern times.

In this perspective, I think you, with others in the Western world, bear the ethical, moral and political responsibility of restoring the national rights to this people, particularly that the people of Palestine have aggressed no one. Never in their history did they practice discrimination because of race, color, creed or religion. Instead, they have given the world its three monotheistic religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

International law is binding for everyone. Likewise, truth reaching world public opinion is the greatest deterrent to nations and international groups when their policies and objectives are not geared to peace and justice.

No one is entitled to overrule international law and international legitimacy in terms of procedure or jurisdiction to solve international problems, including the problem of Palestine.

We all realize that the establishment of

the State of Israel was the outcome of an international posture and an international decision taken by the major powers in the period between the two world wars.

I quote, in this context, Mr. Abba Eban, the former Israeli foreign minister who said that international legitimacy, represented by United Nations General Assembly Partition Resolution 181 (1947), is Israel's only birth certificate.

When Israel signed the Protocol of Lausanne, it undertook to execute this resolution as a precondition for its admission to UN membership.

Israel is also the only nation to have been admitted to the UN on another specific condition. It is the only nation for whom international legitimacy spelled out the terms of its future relations with the Arab State in Palestine.

I think you would concur with me in attributing the continuation of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict to the repudiation of these international decisions and the lack of seriousness in endeavors to achieve a just and permanent settlement of the problem of Palestine.

At this juncture, we witness the beginning of a drive toward international entente to bolster world peace through disarmament, economic, political and cultural cooperation, and the settlement of regional disputes by peaceful means.

Therein lies the opportunity for us to create the international conditions for a just political settlement of the problem of the people of Palestine.

Arab summit resolutions relevant to the Palestinian problem—particularly those of Fez and Algiers—were based on international legitimacy and resolutions, and were approved at successive meetings of our Palestine National Council and were endorsed at its 18th session in Algiers.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I realize you have a lot of queries, especially in the light of the historic steadfastness of the Palestinian people as manifested by the Uprising of its masses to end the occupation and wrest independence.

Granted, they are legitimate queries: it is your right to get clear and specific answers to them from us outlining our overall line of thinking and action, without necessarily going into specific details, especially when they are sensitive. The final decision on these rests with our own parliament, the Palestine National Council, which expresses all trends and intellectual and political forces among our people, whether those under occupation or in the diaspora. We are proud of this parliament and its legislative stature among Palestinians and of the deliberations and democratic practices taking place under its roof.

We are a national liberation movement which has been able to intertwine the requirements of revolutionary endeavor with our commitment to the rule of democracy.

I don't think it would be an overstatement on my part to say that we are a national liberation movement which has been able to intertwine the requirements of revolutionary endeavor with our commitment to the rule of democracy through a parliament endowed with full legislative prerogatives to oversee all executive powers without exception.

Our parliament meets regularly. This is probably because of the nature of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is a revolution for liberation and peace, but with the role of a state.

In addition to exercising all means of legitimate struggle against occupation, the PLO assumes the responsibility—by virtue of legislation by the PNC and through various institutions for industry, agriculture, health, education, labor, social affairs and the like—of catering to the needs of the homeland and of citizens, in all aspects of their lives and whether living under occupation or in the diaspora.

I hope you will understand us the way we are, not through the images in which we are portrayed by Israel and the U.S. government, who are linked by a strategic alliance one of the main objectives of which is to dismiss the existence of the Palestinian people from history altogether, from today's reality and from the future and to disregard the Palestine Liberation Organization as the main party to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

We are all happy to read into the looming international entente an end to a long period of cold and proxy wars, now that the two superpowers have realized the importance of settling regional disputes by peaceful means in order to secure comprehensive peace for all.

But it is painful to sense that American policy and that of others in the international community has been not to tackle a regional dispute unless it is hot and on the verge of exploding.

The people of Palestine have waited for justice from the international community for long, drawn out years. Unfortunately, the people of Palestine and their cause were forgotten and overlooked under one pretext or another. It was therefore natural for the people of Palestine to resume their struggle in 1965.

Our people within the occupied lands and outside had no choice but to continue their struggle, to face their destiny and to pay a high price in the course of the confrontations and aggressions which were imposed on them, whether during the siege of Beirut, or in the massacres of Sabra, Shatila and Burj Al-Barajneh, or in the air and naval raids, or in the course of attacks currently underway on Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps in South Lebanon, or in the course of what is now taking place against our women, children and masses in the Occupied Territories.

The *Intifadah* is an expression of the extent of our people's alertness and their determination to resist the occupation by all means at their disposal, exercising thereby their legal right under the UN Charter and Resolutions.

Today, our people are confronting the Iron Fist policy and the Israeli war machine with stones, children and youths, creating the image of a Palestinian David pitted against a Goliath armed to the teeth with the latest means of warfare and destruction.

We had hoped that the sight of children yielding stones to confront armored vehicles, gunfire and suffocating gas would be sufficient to arouse the conscience of the Israeli occupiers and to open their minds to the future, realizing that recognition of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination and independence is the only road to peace—away from the massacres and daily killings to which our men, women and children are

being subjected and in favor of a future built on peace and justice for all.

But Shamir refuses to use his mind and insists on using his muscles instead to crush what he calls "Palestinian grasshoppers." He insists on pressing ahead with plans to annex the Occupied Territories and on ordering both soldiers and armed settlers to fire at our children and kinspeople.

Peres, his partner in the coalition, continues to speak of the "Jordanian option" and of "alternative leadership" while Rabin tries to overbid Shamir in his practice of the Iron Fist policy. More dangerous than that are the mounting voices among the Likud calling for the mass deportation of Palestinians to Jordan by force. There are others too clamoring for the expulsion of all Palestinians from throughout Palestine.

Sharon announces for his part a scheme to occupy Jordan and to create therein a substitute homeland for the Palestinians.

All this exposes political stands and inhuman practices which are unimaginable by human society, especially after the Second World War and in the era of international entente, disarmament, the settlement of regional conflicts by peaceful means, the technological revolution and the impending challenges of the 21st century which necessitate full cooperation among producing and consuming nations.

The people of the *Intifadah* and the revolution of the "children of stones" are now confronting the Iron Fist policy, including the use of plastic and rubber bullets, live ammunition, internationally banned suffocating gases, the burning and burial of people alive, miscarriages, the breaking of bones, the murder of prisoners, the torture of some detainees to death, the murder of children, the demolition of homes, collective punishments, inhuman mass detention centers, mass administrative arrests without trial or charge, deportation, desecration of Moslem and Christian sanctuaries and a series of other practices which go against the principles set in Nuremberg.

When the occupation authorities realized the negative impact of these practices on world public opinion generally, and on Western public opinion in particular, and even on Jewish public opinion, they proceeded, on the advice of Mr. Kissinger, to kill Palestinians away from camera lenses. They also undertook to bar television and other media from recording and relaying events to the world, thus compounding their Iron Fist policy with the transformation of Israel into another South Africa. This exposed the true face of Israel, harming not only the Palestinians, but also Judaism and all democratic and progressive Israelis who reject these methods, practices and crimes.

The people of the Intifadah, *the Palestinian people whom I represent, are committed to peace based on justice. Our heritage and culture and our Islam, Christianity and Judaism disallow hatred and repudiate aggression.*

Here a question flies to the face on the motives behind this policy which runs counter to the course of history. It certainly is not insensitivity to the crime committed by the Israeli leadership as much as fear of peace on their part. They hope that their intransigent and negative policies and their aggressive practices will deepen hatred and grudge between Israelis and Palestinians, pushing the Palestinian people to despair of peace based on justice and ordinary Israeli citizens to shut themselves out and acquiesce to fascism and racism.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I hereby declare that the people of the *Intifadah* the Palestinian people whom I represent, are committed to peace based on justice. Our heritage and culture and our Islam, Christianity and Judaism disallow hatred and repudiate aggression. Inasmuch as they open our minds to peace based on justice, they shape our resolve to defend ourselves, uphold our rights, and resist the occupation.

We respect our international commitments. We also respect international legitimacy. At the same time, we believe that a just peace cannot be achieved through the selective application of half what international legitimacy provided for and the dumping of the other half.

That is why it is imperative that we witness and sense the respect by Israel and the U.S. government of international resolutions, particularly those upholding the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and statehood, and which constitute the cornerstone of the proposed international peace conference.

I also declare from this rostrum that several contentious points as well as issues raised as preconditions in their minute details hinge on the success of negotiations at the international conference. Other points will figure on the agenda of negotiations to take place at the authoritative international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the permanent Security Council members and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including Israel and the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It would be possible at the said conference and through the negotiations which will take place within its framework to discuss and agree on arrangements for international guarantees of peace among all states of the region, including the independent Palestinian state.

Israel has never defined the terms of reference for the settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli dispute. We wonder: Are they the UN Charter? Or the Resolution of the General Assembly and the Security Council? Or the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights? Or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? Or the 1977 Vance-Gromyko statement? Or the natural right of peoples? Or international legitimacy with all its implications in as far as the establishment of the state of Israel is concerned.

As far as we are concerned, many of you wonder about our position vis-a-vis Resolutions 242 and 338 in view of our commitment of international legitimacy.

We endorse the Charter of the United Nations Organization and all its Resolutions, including 242 and 338. International legitimacy is an indivisible whole and no one can choose to accept only what suits him and discard what does not.

How can the United States and Israel accept the only birth certificate of the state of Israel, namely Resolution 181, which provided for the creation of two states in Palestine, and simultaneously reject for instance Resolution 194 (1948), which called for the repatriation of the Palestine refugees or the payment of compensation for the property of those choosing not to return?

How can we be asked to accept Resolution 242 and forget the other internation-

al resolutions, the most recent of which were Security Council Resolutions 605, 607 and 608 as well as Resolutions 252, 446 and 465 and General Assembly Resolutions 3236 and 3237—especially since Resolution 242 concerned Israel and a number of Arab states and did not address the Palestine Question or the rights of the people of Palestine? It only referred to the need to achieve a settlement of the refugee problem. Even this reference was interpreted in the U.S.-Israeli (or "Vance-Dayan") statement of 1977 as meaning Jewish and Arab refugees.

Consequently, we declare our acceptance of one of the two following options as the basis for convening the international conference under UN auspices and with the participation of the Security Council permanent members and all the parties to the conflict in the region, including the PLO and Israel.

a. All United Nations Resolutions relevant to the Palestine Question, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
b. Resolutions 242 and 338 along with the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to self-determination.

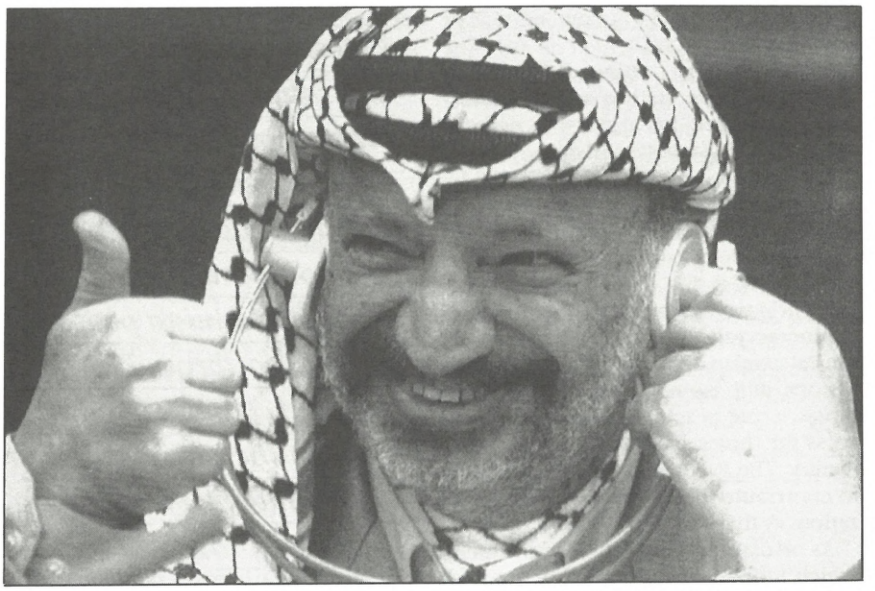
Allow me to cite another example where the selective application of international legitimacy led to distorted results undermining international legitimacy as such. The example relates to Mr. George Shultz, the U.S. Secretary of State, and his so-called Middle East peace initiative.

In the course of his fourth and last visit to the area, he stood up in Cairo to declare that he had discovered that the conflict in Palestine is one between two peoples over the same land and that the solution lies in the recognition of both people's rights.

We saw in this the first positive stand by Washington in terms of recognizing the Palestinian people and their rights.

No sooner had Shultz made his statement than he reverted to the practice of partitioning international legitimacy by translating Israeli rights into an independent state, a government and a people, while dismissing the Palestinian state, government and people by speaking of Palestinian rights in terms of a mere entity attached to the Kingdom of Jordan and of Palestinian residents being absorbed within the Jordanian population.

In this context, and in order to create an atmosphere of good will conducive to a just peace, we responded positively—and still do—to all proposals calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 and placing these under UN administration or an internationally supervised European force for a limited interim period. The proposed international force could stay on after the establishment of the independent Palestinian state for as long as the Security Council deems necessary to guarantee the security of everyone concerned.



Associated Press

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat during a press conference he held on Wednesday, September 14, 1988, at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

We all know of the measures recently adopted by Jordan concerning the West Bank.

The PLO Central Council accepted these measures and decided to shoulder the responsibilities resulting therefrom, including the political among them, regardless of the timing and the manner in which the measures were introduced—without consultation or coordination with us—and irrespective of the difficulties which we found ourselves facing.

The Jordanian measures ended the European, American, and Israeli debate on Palestinian representation at the international conference. No one can claim anymore that there is someone else to share with the PLO the representation of the Palestinian people, particularly after the cessation of the Jordanian option and the failure of the autonomy option. The only option left is the right, realistic and irreplaceable one—namely, the Palestinian option, the essence of which is the independent Palestinian State.

The Jordanian measures also contributed to ushering in a new political phase which interacted with the achievements of the *Intifadah* and the overall Palestinian struggle on the international level and within world public opinion, Israeli society and the Jewish communities in the United States and Europe. These communities rejected the Israeli authorities' distortion of their Jewish beliefs, which do not condone aggression, oppression and coercion.

The Central Council set up a legal-political committee to study all matters related to these developments. Once it ends its studies shortly, they will be put before the Palestine National Council, which will take the necessary decisions in its capacity as the Palestinian people's highest legislative democratic institution.

All those who genuinely believe in peace based on justice and in the right of peoples to self-determination and national independence were stunned by the Israeli outcry over the repercussions of the Jordanian measures, i.e. the moves to declare Palestinian national independence and to set up a provisional government for the forthcoming Palestinian state, or to place the occupied Palestinian territories under United Nations trusteeship.

I remind the Israeli leadership of what Mr. Nahum Goldmann, the late president of the World Jewish Congress, said about U.S. policy in the region as conceived by Henry Kissinger. Mr. Goldmann said there was no point in avoiding the inevitable,

because it is bound to come, no matter how long it is put off.

I would add that putting off the inevitable means more victims and an atmosphere poisoned by aggressive policies and organized state terrorism.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

The people of Palestine do not fight for the sake of fighting. Like other peoples in the world who yearn for peace, freedom, democracy and national independence, the Palestinian people played throughout history, and aspire to play in the near future, a role in achieving peace and progress for themselves and the rest of humanity. The Palestinian people are eager to contribute their share to human civilization, as they did in the past.

As a national liberation movement which took up arms against the oppression and illegitimate terrorism of the occupier, we have invariably, and in the clearest and strongest of terms, denounced terrorism in all its forms and from whatever source—be it by individuals, groups or states.

Our people, including their leaders, cadres and citizens, have invariably been the target of organized Israeli state terrorism as practiced directly or indirectly by armed settlers acting alongside troops in full view of all. In spite of this, we made the Cairo Declaration against terrorism in 1985 on the basis of international law and the United Nations Charter and Resolutions.

But an unchecked Israel continued to practice all forms of terrorism, including state terrorism, against the Palestinian people and their leaders within the Occupied Territories and in every corner of the globe.

This terrorism reached its climax with the bombardment of my headquarters at Hammam al-Shatt in Tunis and the assassination of Brother Abu Jihad, my deputy and one of the most prominent symbols of the Palestinian leadership, who was gunned down in front of his family in Tunis. Israel also perpetrated acts of piracy against civilian shipping on the high seas and in international waters and assassinated our leaders and cadres in Cyprus, Athens and elsewhere.

We reaffirm our commitment to the Cairo Declaration made in 1985 in the presence of President Mubarak as well as to the relevant United Nations Resolution, No. 42/159 (1987).

We also reaffirm that we cling to our right to resist the occupation until Israel pulls out from our Occupied Territories and our Palestinian people achieve their national independence in their sovereign state, so our children can live in peace and liberty on their free soil, like other children of the world.

I would like to add here that we are working to set up an independent Palestinian state on the land liberated from Israeli occupation. This state will have a republican, democratic and multi-party system; it will abide by the Universal Declaration of Human Right, and will not discriminate among its citizens on the basis of color, race or religion.

The people of Palestine do not fight for the sake of fighting. Like other peoples in the world who yearn for peace, freedom, democracy and national independence, the Palestinian people played throughout history, and aspire to play in the near future, a role in achieving peace and progress for themselves and the rest of humanity.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to conclude my address by dwelling on the Palestinian view of Europe's status and role in the present and future.

By virtue of historical ties, geo-politics, mutual interests and the uninterrupted interaction between the two civilizations, Europe has always had, and still has, strong links with the Middle East in general, and the Arab world in particular.

This was evident throughout all crises and developments which occurred in the Middle East region in old and recent times. The most prominent recent example is the Iraq-Iran war, which is at the beginning of its end after Iran's acceptance of Security Council Resolution 598, the implementation of the cease-fire and the opening of negotiations aimed at achieving comprehensive peace between the two countries and in the gulf region as a whole.

This will affect the whole Middle East region, with the focus now shifting to the Palestinian issue and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, particularly after Iraq stood its ground in defending its territory and the eastern gateway to the Arab nation. This will usher in a new era of peace and prosperity for the region's peoples and states, a development in which the international community has played an effective role and to which Europe is directly linked.

At all stages, Europe and the Arab countries tried to conduct a dialogue on their vital common interests under the heading of the "Euro-Arab dialogue." But these attempts led to nowhere because of the perpetuation of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It is true that Europe stated loudly in its Venice Declaration of 13 June 1980 that "a just solution must finally be found to the Palestinian problem.... The Palestinian people, which is conscious of existing as such, must be placed in a position, by an appropriate process defined within the framework of the comprehensive peace settlement, to exercise fully its right to self-determination.

Our people were and remain grateful for this. However, we subsequently noticed that Europe hesitated, taking one step forward and another backward, and that it did not use its full weight and credibility in defining the process conducive to a comprehensive peace settlement which it had itself advocated in the Venice Declaration.

Allow us here to wonder: Why does Europe hesitate to shoulder the responsibility which is concurrent with its in-

terests and values? Will this hesitation continue at a time when the rod is hot enough to be hit and while we move towards economic integration between Europe, with its Common Market, and the merging Arab, and perhaps Middle Eastern, market with its African and Asian extensions?

We are at a crucial stage. The Palestinian state, the key to peace, security and development in the Arab region, which constitutes Europe's security and economic depth, is in the offing.

Yes indeed, freedom and peace are certainly in the offing. Will Europe content itself with the role of a spectator or will it join in the action?

This is the question our people and our nation are asking. The answer lies with Europe, with all its intellectual, political and social forces and trends, a Europe which has established its Common Market and is moving towards achieving unity and regaining its status and political clout in tomorrow's world which is knocking at our doors.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Peace from the land of religious missions, the land of the *Intifadah,* freedom and independence is our people's greetings to other peoples of the world. By virtue of our civilization's background, peace is what we wish for ourselves, our friends, and even our enemies, in the hope they will set on the right path. And the key to peace lies in the realization of our people's rights.

Mr. Chairman,
Ladies and gentlemen,

In conclusion, I would like to thank you again for inviting me here today and to applaud, on behalf of my people, the European Parliament's rejection of Israel's Iron Fist policy and the economic siege it clamped on the export of Palestinian agricultural produce and industrial goods, which led your parliament to freeze ratification of the economic protocols between the European Community and Israel.

My people and I hope that the European Parliament's positive stance will be enhanced, prompting the governments of the European Community to adopt more advanced and effective stands in a way that will push forward the wheels of peace based on justice in Palestine, the land of peace, prophets and heavenly message. ■

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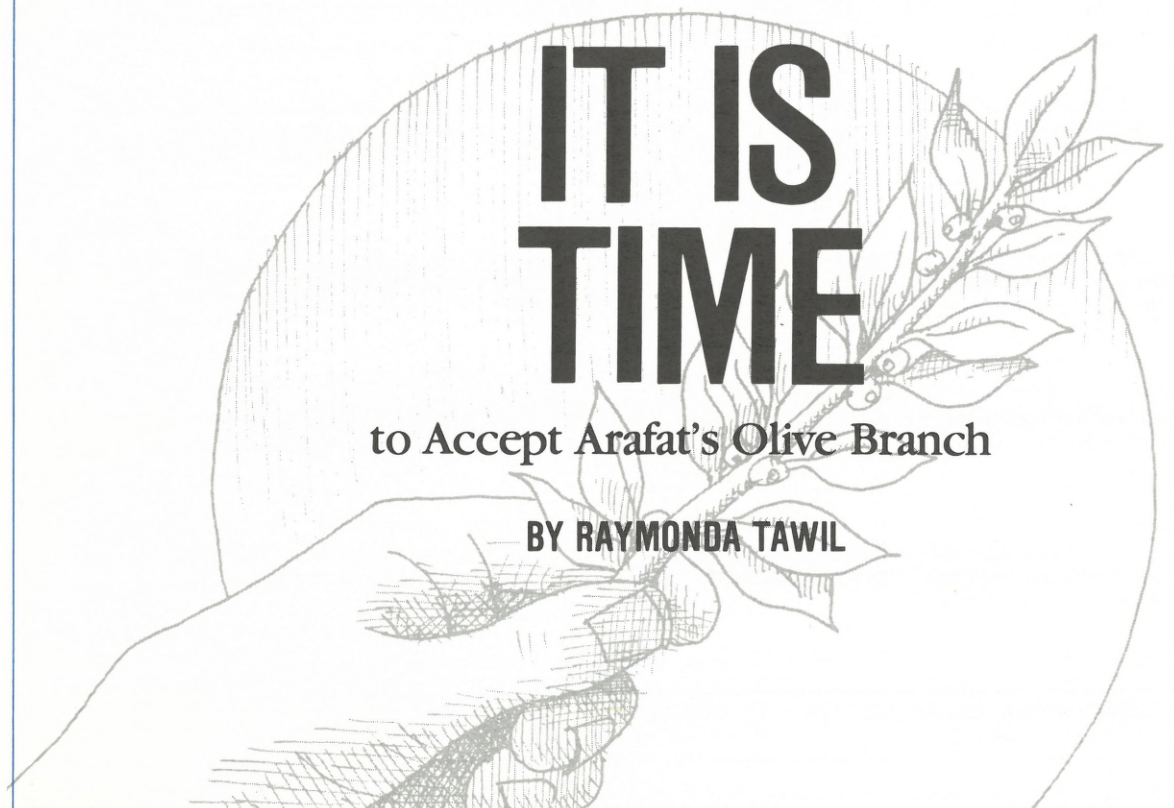

IT IS TIME

to Accept Arafat's Olive Branch

BY RAYMONDA TAWIL

I watched PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat on French television as he addressed the European Parliament in Strasbourg, France. Arafat simply stunned the French.

In proclaiming *"Shana Tova, Shana Tova,"* Hebrew for "Happy New Year, Happy New Year," the chairman came to Strasbourg with both an open mind and an open heart, saying that open minds and open hearts are the truest friends of the Palestinian cause. Open minds and open hearts know that there can never be peace without justice, and there can never be justice while the Palestinian people are suffering every day under occupation.

Arafat invited Israelis to meet with him to make peace. He said he is ready to meet with any Israeli government representative—Shamir, Begin, or Peres—at the United Nations. He challenged European parliamentarians, American and Israeli politicians, the Israeli public, and in fact, Jews all over the world to give peace a chance.

Arafat's address to the European Parliament was very reminiscent of his address to the United Nations in 1974. Then, Arafat carried an olive branch as a symbol of peace and a gun as a symbol of war. He asked the United Nations not to let the olive branch fall. His appeal fell on deaf ears. Since that time, the world witnessed the increased settlement of the Occupied Territories, the accelerated confiscation of Palestinian land, the invasion of Lebanon, and the list goes on.

Once again, Arafat has addressed a major international body, and has asked for peace. Will his efforts for peace be heeded this time?

Arafat was well received. His image in Europe is one of a freedom fighter who carries the plight and the grief of his people, from one negotiating table to another, from one place to another, in search for a home. It is easier for the Europeans to understand the plight of the Palestinian people than it is for the Americans because much of Europe has resisted occupation at one time or another. And most Europeans were accused of being terrorists when they fought against occupation. Thus, public opinion in Europe is more sympathetic to the Palestinians than it is in the United States.

To a large extent, this sympathy was intensified by the images shown on television of those brave and desperate Palestinians, most of them children, who have taken on the burden of ten months of the *Intifadah.*

Shana Tova. Indeed, let it be a year of peace for Israeli children. And, of course, let it be a year of peace for Palestinian children who have seen torture, killings, beatings, broken bones, house demolitions, deportations, sieges, searches, and tear gas, at the hands of an oppressive Israeli occupation. Let us hope that this time the Israelis and the Americans listen to the Palestinians' message of peace. ■

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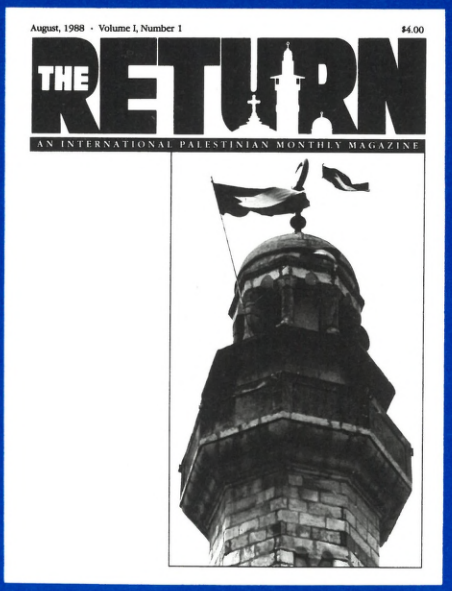

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